UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE DRAMATIC ART OF MORETO

RUTH LEE KENNEDY

A THESIS

IN SPANISH

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
1932

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TO

MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER

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PREFACE

Fernández-Guerra's edition of Moreto's comedies, made for the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, is of date 1856. In it are included thirty-three plays attributed to Moreto and fifty pages of preliminary matter. Of these fifty, only eight are given over to a general discussion of his dramatic art, although one finds in what the critic has designated as *Catálogo razonado* a few words of comment concerning each individual play and a résumé of the plot of those comedies of Moreto which he was not able to include in his collection. As subsequent works of importance, one may note Schaeffer's brief study of Moreto in his *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas* (1890); Mr. S. Griswold Morley's *Studies in Spanish Dramatic Versification of the "Siglo de Oro"* (1918); Miss Mabel Harlan's *The Relation of Moreto's "El desdén con el desdén" to Suggested Sources* (1924); and Señor Cotarelo y Mori's *La bibliografía de Moreto* (1927). Important as these are in matters of bibliography, of authenticity of text, or of source study, they have, with the exception of Mr. Morley's monograph, added virtually nothing to the knowledge of Moreto's dramatic art.

Yet this dramatist was one of the six great playwrights of the seventeenth century, one who "stood nearest to Calderón in the favor of the theatrical public," and as such his art would seem to deserve careful analysis. In making my investigation I have limited myself to a consideration of his longer comedies; Mr. Robert Carner, at one time a colleague and now a graduate student at Harvard, is working with his *entremeses* and plans to edit some of them shortly.

The reader will find in a brief introductory chapter those historical problems which are inevitably linked with any author's literary art: (1) the dramatist's life and personality; (2) the authenticity of the various plays attributed to him, together with their classification; (3) the chronology of his theatre and his dramatic development. This material represents largely a reinterpretation of Fernández-Guerra's introductory pages, together with the information that has appeared since the publication of that work. At this distance from Madrid, it is impossible to clear up the mysteries that surround Moreto's life, to disentangle all of the questions of

authenticity of text involved, or to bring to light further information on the chronology of his plays.

The reader will find also in this chapter a summary of Moreto's indebtedness to his sources. Accurate knowledge as to the changes Moreto has wrought in his materials has seemed indispensable in reaching any conclusions as to his dramatic art. As he revised the often formless plays of the earlier epoch, we see Moreto in his workshop; we are able to note his peculiar characteristics as a playwright and, at the same time, gain a clear idea of the change that was taking place in the dramatic public's demands since Lope's day. These comparative studies, supplemented by analyses of those plays for which no source has been found, make two facts stand out: (1) the consciousness of Moreto's art; (2) the modernity of his dramatic conception.

In the brief chapter on the dramatist's place in literary history, I have made no attempt to trace his influence, though I have, for the convenience of the reader, listed those works which have been said to show a relation to his theatre. For the validity of these assertions, I cannot vouch.

Investigations have been conducted along laboratory lines, but it is my hope that I have done more than present a mass of disintegrated information, that, in my effort to see Moreto, the man and the dramatist, I have synthesized my findings into a rounded whole. Those technical studies which deal with the authenticity of various plays and with the indebtedness of Moreto to his sources have been placed in the Appendix; these must serve as so much documentary evidence for statements made in the text proper.

I take pleasure here in acknowledging my deep gratitude to the Graduate Department of Spanish at the University of Pennsylvania: in particular, to Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, whose keen appreciation of my difficulties and whose readiness to help when need arose, were equalled only by his intellectual generosity in leaving me free to work out my own ideas where I felt equal to the occasion; and to Señor M. Romera- Navarro, my friend and teacher, to whom I am indebted not only for many illuminating suggestions on Moreto but also for a richly documented course on literary criticism of the Golden Age, which was invaluable as background for any study of the drama of that epoch.

My debt to my former professors of California, Mr. S. Griswold Morley and Mr. Rudolph Schevill, is patent. I have had occasion to

refer to the former's studies of Moreto's versification at each moment; from the latter's *Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega*, I have borrowed both title and general method of approach to my subject. I am, too, most grateful to my colleagues, Mr. Elliott M. Grant, Mr. Cortlandt van Winkle, and Miss Caroline B. Bourland, who were so kind as to read this study in manuscript and to offer many valuable suggestions. To Miss Bourland I am indebted, in addition, for the personal interest she has taken in the matter of its publication. Finally, my sincere thanks are due to another colleague—to Miss Elizabeth Foster, who has taken time out of a busy existence to read proof for me.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF MORETO AND HIS DRAMATIC PRODUCTION

1. Moreto's Life and Personality

Fernández-Guerra's study of Moreto[1] appeared in 1856. Previous to that date, the cloak of mystery which surrounded the dramatist's name had encouraged critics of a romantic turn of mind to novelesque flights. Don Juan Guillén y Buzarán,[2] claiming to have found at Salamanca some documents yellowed with age, sketches for the playwright a life that was harried with strife and disappointment. He was the son of a Valencian actress, and in a misdirected effort to free his mother from the annoying attentions of a persistent suitor, killed his good friend, Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla. There was deadly enmity between him and the haughty Conde-Duque de Olivares. In his relations with women he was equally unfortunate. Having fallen in love with a certain Doña Elena, who first attracted his attention by sending a note to his carriage, he found himself at the mercy of a vain and capricious coquette. Chivalry led him to take part in another duel at a masked ball. Weary of the fray of secular life, he eventually took orders. But, so penitent was he over the death of Medinilla, that when death at last came to release him, he asked to be buried in the Pradillo del Carmen with those criminals who had suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

The story is a pretty one but apparently without other foundation than the fertile imagination of the critic. At least when Fernández-Guerra sought the document less than a year after these disclosures were brought to light, he could find no evidence of its ever having existed. Moreover, Medinilla was killed when Moreto was only two years of age, and the dramatist had asked to be buried with the poor to whom he had devoted many years of his life, not with criminals.

[1] *Comedias escogidas de D. Agustín Moreto y Cabaña, Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. XXXIX, Sucesores de Hernando, Madrid, 1922. (Reprint of edition which carries a *Discurso preliminar* dated 1856. See p. xxviii.)

[2] *Revista de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes*, Sevilla, 1855, Vol. I, pp. 396, 445, 509, 577, 656.

Yet, after all, Moreto's life and personality remain a mystery, in part because of the paucity of data at hand, in part because the little we have is contradictory. From the dramatist's own century, we have six references. Gracián characterizes him in his *El criticón*[3] (1651–1653–1657) as the "Spanish Terence," reserving his volume of comedies from the destruction accorded to most of the other books of the day because of its "mucha propiedad y donoso gracejo." In the life of Don Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval[4] he is described as follows: "hombre bien conocido en el mundo por su festiva agudeza; que renunciados los aplausos que le daban merecidamente los teatros, consagró su pluma a las alabanzas divinas, convertido el entusiasmo o furor poético en espíritu de devoción." Nicolás Antonio, who, as a contemporary of Moreto, must not only have been acquainted with the countless editions of his plays that had been printed but must also have witnessed the performances of many of them, devotes a scant fifty words to him; in these he makes the statement that Moreto ceased to write for the theatre when he entered the church.[5] Besides these notices we have only the well-known anecdote of Cáncer, the story from Suppico's apothegms, and the enigmatic observations of Barrionuevo from which to draw our conclusions as to the dramatist's personality. As we shall see later, no one of the three is complimentary to the playwright. Dramatists of the day, loud in their praise of Calderón, make no mention of Moreto, though in the decade of the fifties he must have held the place next to that playwright in the favor of the great dramatic public.

The well-attested facts of Moreto's life are these. Born of Italian parentage in Madrid, April, 1618,[6] he grew up with his seven

[3] Edition of Cejador y Frauca, Madrid, 1913, Vol. II, Parte iii, crisi 8, p. 271.

[4] See Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española*, Madrid, 1863–89, Vol. III, columns 900–915, for this book, published in Madrid in 1680. Juan Pasano, who supplies the facts for this volume, was secretary to the Cardinal Moscoso.

[5] Bibliotheca Hispana nova auctore D. Nicolás Antonio Hispalensi. Tomus primus. Matriti, MDCCLXXXIII, p. 177. "Don Augustinus Moreto scripsit ante aliquot annos tam cum aliis quam solus comoedias quae in theatris nostris editae laudem ei pepererunt. Abstinuit tamen hoc scribendi genere ex quo sacris fuit initiatus, quod instituto vitae omnino debebatur. Prodierunt quidem aliquot uno volumine: *Comedias de Moreto, primera parte*, Matriti, in 4°."

[6] Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit., Discurso preliminar*, p. viii) prints the baptismal notice taken from the records of San Ginés.

Señor Cotarelo y Mori has published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia* (1914,

brothers and sisters in a comfortable, perhaps almost luxurious, home.[7] At sixteen he entered Alcalá where, according to the official University record, he studied "súmulas, lógica y física," studies that were certainly more likely to develop his sense of order than to stir into flame any latent imaginative fires.[8] Although it is definitely certain that our dramatist successfully completed the last of the three mentioned on May 3, 1637, for reasons unknown he did

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Vol. I, pp. 67–68) the will of Moreto's sister, María Angela, in which it is expressly stated that her parents were Milanese. Fernández-Guerra declares (*Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza*, Madrid, 1871, p. 340) that the father was from the Monferrato, the mother from Mantua, and that our dramatist was the sixth child of this union. Joaquín de Entrambasaguas y Peña (*Doce documentos inéditos relacionados con Moreto y dos poesías suyas desconocidas*, *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo*, Oct. 1930, pp. 341–356) doubts that both parents were from Milan. He thinks it probable that the father's people were from Florence and were related to the sculptors Juan de Moreto and Pedro de Moreto who came to Aragon in the sixteenth century.

In the baptismal records of San Ginés, Señor Entrambasaguas has found mention of the following names: 1610—Ana Moreto y Cavaña, hijo (sic) de Augustino Moreto, italianos (sic) y de Biolante Moreto, su muger; 1616—Tomasa Moreto y Cavaña; 1619 (10 de enero)—Agustín Moreto, hijo de Blas (Uras) Moreto y de Estruença Moreto (a cousin of the dramatist in the opinion of the critic); 1619—Gregorio y Ana Moreto, hijos de Augustín Moreto y Biolante Cabaña, su mujer; 1622—Juan Francisco Moreto y Cavaña, hijo de Agus (sic) Moreto y de Violante Moreto; 1624—Antonio Moreto y Cavaña—hijo de Agustino Moreto y de Biolante Cabaña; 1628—Angela Manuela Moreto y Cavaña, hija de Agustín Moreto y de Biolante Cavaña. Is Angela Manuela the same as María Angela?

[7] There are documents to prove that Moreto's father was the possessor of several rent houses. (See Fernández-Guerra, *B.A.E.*, Vol. XXXIX, *Discurso preliminar*, p. viii.) It has also been stated that his father traded in grains with the laboring classes and in rich tapestries, costumes, and furniture with the nobles. (See Fernández-Guerra, *Ruiz de Alarcón*, Madrid, 1871, p. 340 and Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado, *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español*, Madrid, 1860, p. 275.) Señor Entrambasaguas (*Op. cit.*, p. 342) has not found any basis for this supposition; nor have I. Moreto's profound contempt for money, however, (See pp. 108–109 of this study) is hardly the characteristic attitude of one who has felt its need.

[8] If Moreto felt any great loyalty to his university, there is no evidence of it in his work. There is a hint in *El valiente justiciero* (*B.A.E.*, I, 8, pp. 334–335) that for Moreto, the city was a place of refuge for law breakers:

Rey: No hay justicia en Alcalá?
Inés: Pues ¿agora dudáis eso?
Es lugar estudiantino
y si alguno hace un mal hecho,
en partiéndose a Alcalá,
es lo mismo que a un convento.

not take his degree of licentiate until December 11, 1639. Such a delay could find its explanation in an indifference born either of financial independence or of the rosy hopes which Moreto entertained at that time for a literary future.

The year 1642 finds him a cleric of minor orders in Toledo with a benefice under Archbishop Moscoso that was not obtained without legal difficulties.[9] In January, 1643, his father died. Concerning this period of his life we have two anecdotes, neither of which is very well attested. The one, which paints him as a talented but vain young fop, is from Lesage's *Gil Blas* (VII, 13) and must be discredited both because of a glaring discrepancy in date[10] and because of the difficulty of reconciling it with the Moreto reflected in his theatre.[11] Not improbably literary tradition has confused the author with his brain-child, the dapper Don Diego, thereby confirming the eternal truth of Campoamor's well-known poem.

The second anecdote, which occurs in the *Apotegmas* of Pedro José Suppico[12] some three score years after Moreto's death, is even more at variance with the character of the man as revealed in his life and works. According to the story, he and other dramatists of the day, among them Calderón and Luis Vélez de Guevara (dead in 1644), were enacting an impromptu "Creation of the World" for the pleasure of the king. Moreto is shown as impetuous and quick-witted, but so irreverent and obscene of tongue that Fernández-Guerra has declined the responsibility of disseminating his author's words.[13]

Aside from a few literary notices which I shall reserve for later discussion, we have no further mention of the dramatist until 1652 when a certain Bartolomé de Lara rented a room in behalf of Don Agustín Moreto y Cabaña, "vecino de Madrid."[14] From this date until 1654, he was probably at court. An enigmatic notice of May 5, 1654, which is taken from *El averiguador* (Vol. I, 1870, p. 201) reads as follows: "He visto lo que Vuestra Merced me avisa en su carta de lo que ha sucedido con los ugieres por la comedia de

[9] See Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, Madrid, 1907, Vol. III, p. 433.

[10] He is placed in the time of Don Rodrigo Calderón.

[11] Nevertheless, Schaeffer (*Geschichte des spanishchen Nationaldramas*, Leipzig, 1890, II, p. 186) accepts it at its full value and, what is more, interprets Moreto's entire theatre in the light of it. See Fernández-Guerra, *B.A.E.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. x.

[12] Lisboa, 1733, Vol. III, p. 95.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. x.

[14] See Pérez Pastor, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 434.

Don Agustín Moreto, de que di cuenta a S. M. y me manda diga a Vmd. dé cuenta al Bureo."[15] It is not probable, then, that Moreto was out of Madrid in the following month when his volume of plays went to press: this in answer to Fernández-Guerra's suggestion that the slovenliness ("desaliño") and lack of artistic conscience which characterize the *Primera parte* (1654), may find a possible explanation in Moreto's absence from Madrid at that time.[16] Furthermore, it confirms the idea that Moreto was associated in some capacity with the court.[17]

In the *Avisos* of Don Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, under date of February 21, 1657, there appears an even more perplexing notice than those already quoted: "Dícese se metió cartujo o capuchino en Sevilla D. Agustín Moreto, por huir de los vizcaínos, que le buscaban para matarle. Habrá escogido lo mejor, si lo ha hecho, si no es que volviendo a Madrid, cuelga el hábito. Todo puede ser." This notice is, as Cotarelo observes, further confirmed by two others. The first, found in the *El teatro de Sevilla*[18] of Don José Sánchez Arjona, shows that Moreto was a resident of Sevilla on June 8, 1656, that he had written the "loas" and "sainetes" for the feast of Corpus Christi, and that he received 900 "reales de vellón" for these compositions. The second, taken from the life of Don Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval states that in 1657 Cardinal Moscoso put Moreto, "capellán suyo" in charge of the "Hermandad del Refugio" in the city of Toledo and that he gave him lodging there "in order that his presence might be continuous."[19]

[15] Fernández-Guerra denies (*Op. cit.*, p. vii) that Moreto was an actor. His friend Cáncer, at least, did take part in theatrical representations before the king, for in a *romance* he asks the king for an "ayuda de costa en méritos de haber representado con los criados de S.M. una comedia en palacio delante del mismo rey, don Felipe IV." See La Barrera, *Op. cit.*, p. 62. Did Moreto take part in these court performances?

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

[17] Fernández-Guerra (*Ruiz de Alarcón*, p. 340) states that Moreto received his introduction to court through his uncle, Andrés Moreto de Cabrera "asiduo esclavo de la Divina Majestad desde 1610 y por ello camarada y amigo de Lope." Casual search has not enabled me to find anything of this Andrés Moreto de Cabrera. It is more probable, however, as we shall see, that the Cardinal (and Archbishop of Toledo) Don Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval, stood sponsor for the young man at court.

[18] Madrid, 1887, pp. 229–230.

[19] Gallardo, *Op. cit.*, No. 2132. The details of Moscoso's life are entered separately and numbered.

In spite of Barrionuevo's doubts,[20] there is nothing to indicate that Moreto was not an exemplary cleric, or that in the years that followed, Moscoso ever had reason to regret his choice—even though it is evident that the hospital and its work lay close to the heart of the good prelate. We read in these same excerpts from the life of the cardinal: "Saliendo a pasear en el coche, llevaba en él muchos vestidicos de niños; en encontrando a algún desharrapadico, le vestía" (No. 240). There are other citations which show the genuine love of Moscoso for his poor. Still others picture him as disapproving of the extravagant dress of the day (No. 1333); of priests who took part in profane entertainments (No. 1418); of youths who "teniendo memoria para novelas, comedias y otras cosas futiles y aun dañosas, sólamente para la doctrina cristiana no la tienen" (No. 1302). How can we explain that a man with such an outlook on life should appoint the dapper Don Diego of the anecdote of Gil Blas or the brilliantly irreverent actor of the *Apotegmas* to care for his hospital? And how can we believe that he would put in charge of his beloved poor a man who was using the church purely as a cloak to cover his cowardice? Would he not, rather, have chosen one who shared his sympathy for life's unfortunates? In this connection, I may quote from *La misma conciencia acusa*. Enrique, at the command of the king, is showing the riches of the palace to Carlos in order that he may excite his cupidity:

ENRIQUE: . . . quería
preguntaros ¿qué os parece
aquesa tapicería?
CARLOS: Aun mejor me pareciera,
si, cuando entrando venía,
no encontrara algunos hombres
rotos y en miseria esquiva.
ENRIQUE: Pues ¿qué tiene que ver eso
con lo que os pregunto?
CARLOS: Es hija
deste afecto la razón
pues me parece injusticia
que estén los hombres desnudos
y las paredes vestidas.[21]

[20] Barrionuevo, himself a scapegrace priest, held no illusions as to the moral degradation of his day. His distrust, so cryptically expressed, may be a reflection arising from his pessimism toward humanity in general rather than from any specific knowledge of Moreto.

[21] *La misma conciencia acusa*, I, 14, p. 106.

That Moreto was sincere in the motives which prompted his entrance into the church and that he continued to be interested in the poor with whom he worked are also evidenced by the remaining notices we have of his life. In the *Libro de rondas y entradas de pobres*,[22] it appears that Don Agustín Moreto and Señor de Cobarrubias made "semana" together beginning the nineteenth of December, 1660; and in the *Libro de cuentas*[23] of the year 1664, there is mention of certain sums of money which Moreto received "para la obra de la sala de las enfermas" . . .

On the twenty-eighth of October, 1669, Moreto died, leaving orders that he should be buried in the Pradillo del Carmen[24] with those humble people to whose care he had dedicated thirteen years of his life. He further ordered that his executors (his brother Julián and the licentiate Francisco Carrasco, Secretary of the *Hermandad del Refugio*) should, after paying all debts, divide what *might* remain (*"y si sobrase algo"*) among the poor. Moreover, such distribution was to be made "a su voluntad sin que ningún juez eclesiástico ni secular les pueda pedir ni pida cuenta de ello." He left no masses to be said for his soul.[25] The order concerning his last resting place was for some reason disregarded, and today Moreto lies buried in the vault of the Escuela de Cristo in the parish of San Juan, Toledo.

2. Textual Difficulties and Problems of Authenticity; a Classification of Moreto's Theatre

We are scarcely more fortunate with reference to the facts of Moreto's literary history. In the first place, the knowledge which we possess concerning his literary output is in a nebulous state. As Mr. Morley has pointed out:[26] "It is certain that Moreto's title to many of the plays usually regarded as his can be shaken by those who desire to poke a finger into the card house of *siglo de oro* distributions." On this same page he has remarked: "If one were to take the list of authentic comedies by Moreto, as printed by Fernández-Guerra (*Bibl. aut. esp.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. xlvii), and

[22] See Gallardo, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, col. 901.

[23] See Gallardo, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, col. 902.

[24] See Fernández-Guerra (*B. A. E.*, XXXIX, p. xvii) for the confusion of locality which led critics to state that Moreto had desired to be buried with criminals.

[25] See Fernández-Guerra, *Op. cit.*, p. xix for the copy of the will.

[26] Morley, S. G., *Studies in Spanish Dramatic Versification of the "Siglo de oro," Alarcón y Moreto*, University of California Press, Oct. 8, 1918, p. 172.

excise all but those which have no shadow of doubt upon them, there would remain, apparently, only those printed in the *Primera parte de las comedias de Don Agustín Moreto*, 1654 (the only collection of his works that the author lived to see); those which bear his name in the final verses; those which have never been attributed to any other than to him; and those which exist in autograph manuscripts."

The matter is even more complicated than Mr. Morley's words would indicate. Señor Cotarelo,[27] who adds seven plays to the list of those rejected by Fernández-Guerra, has classified fifteen plays in all as apochryphal. The authenticity of twenty-two others is questionable on the grounds of external evidence. On the strength of internal indications, Schaeffer[28] doubts Moreto's title to four more. In justification of his conclusions, this critic proves that Moreto's plays were popular and, therefore, of pecuniary value to booksellers; then he adds: "Es ist deshalb kein Wunder, dass gewissenlose Leute dieser Art auch aus dem Druck der Stücke anderer Autoren unter dem Namen Moreto's Kapital zu schlagen suchten, und der Leser wird in diesem Umstande eine Erklärung dafür finden, dass es der Verfasser gewagt hat, in der Einzelbesprechung aus innern Gründen die bisher kaum bezweifelte Autorschaft einiger unserm Dichter zugeschriebenen Dramen in Frage zu stellen."[29]

These conditions are due in part to the evident unreliability of both the *Segunda* and *Tercera partes* and to the unscrupulous procedure of the various editors of the *Escogidas* collection. As for the *Segunda parte*,[30] it may be pointed out that *La fuerza del natural* and *La fingida Arcadia*, here printed as by Moreto alone, have elsewhere been attributed to Moreto and collaborators. Moreover, the authorship of *El Caballero del Sacramento* (*El Eneas de Dios*) which forms the tenth play in this volume, is, in my opinion, doubtful. From the *Tercera parte* of Antonio de Zafra,[31] *Las travesuras del Cid*, *La traición vengada*, and *El secreto entre dos amigos* have already

[27] Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio, *La bibliografía de Moreto*, Madrid, Tip. de la *Revista de Archivos, Bibl. y Museos*, 1927.

[28] *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 155–187.

[29] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 156.

[30] Benito Macé, Valencia, 1676, 502 pp.

[31] Madrid, 1681. Listed by Cotarelo (*Op. cit.*, pp. 9–10) as the "authentic" third part. It is "authentic" only in that it was printed as one complete volume and at the date given on the title page. Other collections of Moreto's plays have a false title page and are composed of "sueltas," separately paginated.

been removed to the respective theatres of Cáncer, Lope de Vega, and Mira de Amescua; *La cautela en la amistad* has elsewhere been ascribed to Felipe Godínez; *Los hermanos encontrados*, to Lope de Vega; *Nuestra Señora del Aurora*, to Cáncer and Moreto as well as to Moreto alone; *La confusión de un jardín* shows the handiwork of a collaborator according to Fernández-Guerra's opinion[32]; finally, Schaeffer finds no traces of the author of *El desdén con el desdén* in *El esclavo de su hijo*, *Hacer del contrario amigo*, and *La fortuna merecida*.

Nor is the so-called *Verdadera tercera parte*[33] much more reliable. It contains *La ocasión hace al ladrón* and *El marqués del Cigarral*, both excised from the theatre of Moreto by Cotarelo; *Nuestra Señora del Aurora* and *La confusión de un jardín*, each of which gives evidence of a collaborating pen; *En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza* and *Sin honra no hay valentía*, which must be considered plays of doubtful authenticity.

Unfortunately, we cannot depend even "on those plays which bear his name in the final verses." As Mr. Morley points out in his study of Moreto's versification,[34] only four of the Fernández-Guerra collection are signed in this way: *En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza* and *El Parecido en la corte*, both signed by Moreto alone; *Caer para levantar*, attributed to Matos, Moreto, and Cáncer; and *La fuerza del natural*, given under the name of Cáncer and Moreto. In addition to these, we may add: *El Parecido* (primitive version); *El mejor par de los doce* (Matos y Moreto); *No hay reino como el de Dios* (variously attributed to Moreto and collaborators under this title and others, among them *Dejar un reino por otro*); and *La mejor luna africana* (signed by nine authors, one of them Moreto). Yet of these seven, there are, for at least four, variant editions which do *not* contain the names: *En el mayor imposible, No hay reino como el de Dios, La fuerza del natural*, and *La mejor luna africana*.[35]

Plays of the first volume (1654), which bears Moreto's own dedication, can, of course, have little doubt attached to them.[36]

[32] *Op. cit., Catálogo razonado*, p. xxxi.

[33] This volume, which is made up of *sueltas*, was published under the falsified title page of Benito Macé, Valencia, 1676. See Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 15.

[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 172, note.

[35] See studies of these plays, pp. 126–128, 125, 132–133, 134.

[36] Nevertheless, Menéndez y Pelayo printed *Los jueces de Castilla* in his edition

And the autograph of *El poder de la amistad* is indisputable. Moreover, the manuscript of *El príncipe perseguido* in the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2735), though the play is attributed in printed *sueltas* to Pérez de Montalbán, is, according to Paz y Melia,[37] an autograph copy of Belmonte Bermúdez, Moreto, and Martínez de Meneses. La Barrera states (*Catálogo*, pp. 276–277) that those of *El Parecido en la corte* and *Oponerse a las estrellas* "have the appearance of autographs."

Such is a very general statement of the textual difficulties that confront the student of Moreto. There are other problems of authenticity, however. The dramatist followed the practice of his day in the matter of collaboration, and the intervention of one to eight other pens makes it virtually impossible at times to say which portion should be ascribed to him. On occasions, the playwrights of the century seem to have made a mechanical division of their labors, each taking a half, a third, a sixth, or a ninth, according to the number at work. In *El mejor par de los doce*, each author indicates within the verse of the play itself just which portion he composed. As we have seen, there is a manuscript of *El príncipe perseguido* in which the three acts are signed respectively by Belmonte, Moreto, and Martínez de Meneses.

But there is no assurance that such was always their practice. It requires no stretch of the imagination to hear Matos Fragoso say "Here, Agustín, you write these blessed *quintillas*," and even less to picture Agustín with his "instinct for perfection" setting himself to the task of revising some of those miserable concoctions which he and his friends had so hastily thrown together for the consumption of a public which knew not satiety. Perhaps herein may lie the explanation of the widely differing versions of *El Eneas de Dios*[38] or of the characteristically Moretean atmosphere that pervades each act of a collaboration such as *Caer para levantar* or *Hacer remedio el dolor*.

* * *

In attempting to solve these problems of authenticity, it has been necessary (1) to study the individual comedies from the

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of Lope de Vega's works, feeling that it must be very close to the lost play of Lope which was mentioned in the second list of *El peregrino*.

[37] *Catálogo de las piezas de teatro que se conservan en el departamento de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1899.

[38] See Appendix, p. 144.

standpoint of plot, characterization, versification,[39] dialogue, etc., and (2) to link these facts with every available scrap of historical information, textual and chronological.[40] These studies will be found in the Appendix divided into three separate groups:[41](1) those plays whose authorship is open to question on the basis of external evidence; (2) those works which are, to judge by internal evidence only, doubtfully attributed to him; (3) those comedies written in collaboration which do not fall in either of the groups just mentioned. However, for the casual's reader's convenience, our conclusions will be given here.

The first group includes 22 plays, and in my opinion 11 of them should be excised from Moreto's theatre: *La cautela en la amistad* (Godínez?); *Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid* (Monroy y Silva?); *En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza* (Juan de Lemus?); *Escarramán* (San Martın? Cáncer?); *La fortuna merecida* (Some inferior playwright of Moreto's day); *El príncipe prodigioso* (Montalbán?); *Los hermanos encontrados* (Some minor dramatist of the Lopean school); *La milagrosa elección de San Pío V* (Montalbán? Godínez?); *El rosario perseguido* (Dramatist writing around the year 1600); *San Luis Beltrán* (Gaspar Aguilar); primitive version of *Travesuras son valor* (Some dramatist of 1623).

The nine[42] which follow give evidence of having been written by Moreto in collaboration with one or more authors:

1. *La adúltera penitente:* The first act is probably by Calderón; the second by Cáncer or Matos; the third by Moreto.

2. *La fingida Arcadia:* The evidence is conflicting, but I am inclined to think the three acts were written respectively by Calderón, "Don N. N.," and Moreto.

3. *La fuerza del natural:* Attributed ordinarily to Moreto and Cáncer, it is more probably the work of Cáncer, Moreto, and Matos or of Moreto and Matos. The first act is perhaps by Cáncer, the second by Moreto, the third by Matos, if there were three col-

[39] A table of versification for those plays which have not been previously analysed by Mr. Morley (*Op. cit.*, pp. 152–173) will be found on pp. 61–65 of this study.

[40] See pp. 17–22 of this study for chronological table; pp. 23–28 for Moreto's literary development.

[41] See pp. 123–152. Each group is alphabetically arranged.

[42] *La mejor luna africana* and *El rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo* may belong in this list. The photostats of these plays, which were ordered from the Biblioteca Nacional, have not arrived in time for me to make an examination of them.

laborators; if only two, then the first two acts are by Moreto; the last by Matos.

4. *Hacer remedio el dolor:* This could, in its entirety, be the handiwork of Moreto, though it has always been attributed to him in collaboration either with Cáncer or with Cáncer and Matos. If Cáncer wrote any portion of the play, it was probably the last half of Act III. I doubt Matos' intervention.

5. *No hay reino como el de Dios:* The order of authors for the three acts should be, perhaps, Matos, Cáncer, and Moreto.

6. *Nuestra Señora del Aurora:* Probably Moreto collaborated with Cáncer in this *comedia*, though only the last part of Act I and the first half of Act II seem characteristic of the author of *El desdén con el desdén.*

7. *Oponerse a las estrellas:* This play shows traces of Moreto's pen in all three acts, though it is the second which seems peculiarly his.

8. *El príncipe perseguido:* Though printed in a *suelta* as Montalbán's work, this is correctly attributed to Belmonte, Moreto, and Martínez de Meneses.

9. *Travesuras son valor* (later version): I doubt that the play is by Moreto alone because the second act is not characteristic.

Those plays whose authenticity has been questioned on the strength of internal evidence are nine in number. In my opinion,

1. *La confusión de un jardín* gives some evidence of a collaborating hand, though it is far from conclusive.

2. *El Cristo de los Milagros* (*El Santo Cristo de Cabrilla*) is probably not Moreto's; if it be his, it must be classified under the juvenilia.

3. *El Eneas de Dios y Caballero del Sacramento* is not characteristic of Moreto. If he wrote it, it is surely a youthful production.

4. *Los engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel* is probably one of Moreto's early plays of intrigue.

5. *El esclavo de su hijo* is wrongly attributed to Moreto. It is quite in the manner of the Lopean school.

6. *La gala del nadar es saber guardar la ropa* could possibly be Moreto's, written in his early years, though there is much in its characterization that is not representative. In its structure, it belongs to the late Lopean school.

7. *Hacer del contrario amigo* is not Moreto's. It is probable the work of an imitator of Calderón.

8. *La negra por el honor* could not be the product of Moreto's pen.

9. *Sin honra no hay valentía* shows no trace of Moreto's handiwork.

The plays that Moreto wrote in collaboration which have not been previously analyzed are five in number:

1. *El bruto de Babilonia:* The three acts were, in my opinion, written respectively by Matos, Moreto, and Cáncer.

2. *Caer para levantar:* Though attributed to Matos, Cáncer, and Moreto in the closing verses, this play seems to show traces of Moreto's workmanship in every act; the first and third appear particularly characteristic of him.

3. *El mejor par de los doce:* The first half was written by Matos, the last half by Moreto.

4. *Nuestra Señora del Pilar:* The three acts are ordinarily assigned to Villaviciosa, Matos, and Moreto in the order named, but it is difficult to see the hand of Matos or Moreto in this deadly dull comedy.

5. *Santa Rosa del Perú:* The first two acts are probably Moreto's; the last Lanini's.

6. *La vida y muerte de San Cayetano:* I shall not attempt to say which sixth of this play was written by Moreto.

* * *

It will be convenient at this point to reclassify[43] Moreto's comedies. For my purpose I shall divide his theatre into (I) religious

[43] Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xlvii) has arranged the longer comedies of Moreto under the two general headings: "(1) sagradas y devotas" and (2) "profanas." The secular plays he has subdivided into (a) "históricas y tradicionales, (b) doctrinales y de caracteres, (c) de enredo y puro entretenimiento, (d) burlescas." The sub-grouping, for my purpose, is unsatisfactory: (1) because there is no real difference between the dramatic art of the alleged historical and the non-historical plays; (2) because the division is often arbitrary. Such a play as *La fuerza de la ley*, while dealing with historical characters, differs very little in general tone and in method of development from *Primero es la honra* or *El mejor amigo el rey*. Moreover, one finds the absurd comedy, *En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza*, classified under the same heading as *Los jueces de Castilla*, apparently because the *gracioso* assures the audience in the last lines that the history is a "true" one. On the other hand, *El príncipe perseguido*, which has to do with the historic fact of Demetrius' usurpation of the throne of Russia (See *Britannica*), was placed under "comedias de enredo y puro entretenimiento." Finally, I cannot explain on what ground Fernández-Guerra classified as historical or traditional such plays as *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* and *El defensor de su agravio*.

and (II) secular, subdividing the latter into (1) plays of plot and (2) plays of character and idea. Those of plot will on occasion be considered under the subheadings of comedies of (a) novelesque interest and (b) comedies of intrigue.[44] I have marked with an asterisk those *comedias* which were written in collaboration; with a dagger, those which are doubtfully attributed to him; and with a double dagger, those which are apochryphal. Those which are unquestionably Moreto's have been left unmarked. It is a plan which I shall observe throughout the remainder of this study.[45]

I. RELIGIOUS COMEDIES, HISTORICAL OR TRADITIONAL

1. *Adúltera penitente (La): Act III (?)
2. Antes morir que pecar
3. *Bruto de Babilonia (El): Act II (?)
4. *Caer para levantar: Act I (?) and last half of III (?)
5. Cena del rey Baltasar (La)
6. ‡Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid
7. ‡Esclavo de su hijo (El)
8. Más dichosos hermanos (Los)
9. Más ilustre francés (El)
10. †Milagrosa elección de San Pío V (La)
11. *No hay reino como el de Dios: Act III (?)
12. *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora: 1st half of play (?)
13. *Nuestra Señora del Pilar: Act III (?)
14. ‡Rosario perseguido (El)
15. San Franco de Sena
16. ‡San Luis Beltrán
17. *Santa Rosa del Perú: Acts I and II
18. †Santo Cristo de Cabrilla (El)
19. Vida de San Alejo (La)
20. *Vida y muerte de San Cayetano (La): (?)

[44] The classification just given does not take into account *Escarramán*, which is a burlesque on the *capa y espada* play of this time. In my opinion, the work is not Moreto's. If it should be his, then it would form a subheading (c) under this grouping. For a discussion of Moreto's comedies under these headings, see pp. 113–117. The classification of *Antes morir que pecar* and *La mejor luna africana* has been based on a knowledge of their general content.

[45] I have placed in the Appendix, pp. 201–206, full bibliographical information concerning the editions of Moreto used in this study. In each case I have given, too, the facts concerning the first printed edition. Only the plays of the *B.A.E.* are divided into scenes.

II. SECULAR THEATRE

A. Plays of plot

a. Plays of novelesque interest

1. Amor y obligación
2. †Eneas de Dios (El)
3. *Fingida Arcadia (La): Act III (?)
4. Fingir y amar
5. †Gala de nadar es saber guardar la ropa (La): (Not known to Schaeffer, apparently)
6. Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso
7. *Mejor par de los doce (El): last half of play.
8. ‡Negra por el honor (La)
9. *Príncipe perseguido (El): Act III
10. †*Príncipe prodigioso (El): last half (?)
11. †Sin honra no hay valentía
12. Travesuras de Pantoja (Las)
13. ‡Travesuras son valor (primitive version)
14. *Travesuras son valor (later version): (?)

b. Plays of intrigue

1. Caballero (El)
2. †Cautela en la amistad (La)
3. *Confusión de un jardín (La): (Collaboration questionable)
4. †En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza
5. †Engaños de un engaño (Los)
6. †Fortuna merecida (La)
7. †Hacer del contrario amigo
8. †Hermanos encontrados (Los)
9. ‡Ocasión hace al ladrón (La)
10. Parecido (El)
11. Parecido en la corte (El)
12. ‡Secreto entre dos amigos (El)
13. ‡Todo es enredos amor
14. Trampa adelante

B. Plays of character and idea

1. Antíoco y Seleuco
2. Cómo se vengan los nobles
3. Defensor de su agravio (El)
4. De fuera vendrá

5. Desdén con el desdén (El)
6. Fuerza de la ley (La)
7. *Fuerza del natural (La): Act II (?)
8. *Hacer remedio el dolor: (?)
9. Jueces de Castilla (Los)
10. Industrias contra finezas
11. Licenciado Vidriera (El)
12. Lindo Don Diego (El)
13. Lo que puede la aprehensión
14. Mejor amigo el rey (El)
15. *Mejor luna africana (La): (?)
16. Misma conciencia (La)
17. No puede ser
18. *Oponerse a las estrellas: Act II (?)
19. Primero es la honra
20. *Rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo (El): (?)
21. Valiente justiciero (El)
22. Yo por vos y vos por otro[46]

3. The Chronology of Moreto's Plays and the Literary Development of the Dramatist

The few chronological facts which I have been able to collect in regard to Moreto's theatre will be found tabulated in the pages that follow. Much remains to be done in this regard. Only a dozen plays can be dated with certainty.

[46] The following plays have also been linked with Moreto's name but were excluded by Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xlvii): *La condesa de Belflor* (Lope's *El perro del hortelano*); *La discreta venganza* (Lope); *El hijo de Marco Aurelio* (Zabaleta); *El marqués del Cigarral* (Castillo Solórzano); *El mejor representante, San Ginés* (Cáncer, Martínez de Meneses y Rosete Niño); *La más verdadera copia del mejor original* (Juan Sanz Moreno); *El premio en la misma pena* (Lope); *Quitar el feudo a su patria* (Alonso de Alfaro). Cotarelo adds to this list seven others: (1) *Fingir lo que puede ser* (Montero de Espinosa); (2) *No puede mentir el cielo* (Don Rodrigo Enríquez); (3) *La ocasión hace al ladrón* (Matos Fragoso); (4) *El secreto entre dos amigos* (*El galán secreto* of Don Antonio Mira de Amescua); (5) *El segundo Moisés: San Froilán* (Matos Fragoso); (6) *Todo es enredos amor* (Don Diego de Figueroa y Córdoba); (7) *La traición vengada* (the *Tanto hagas cuanto pagas* of Lope de Vega). Cotarelo (*Op. cit.*, pp. 40–43) does not list *El mejor representante, San Ginés*, mentioned by Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xlvii) as incorrectly attributed to Moreto. Several of those classified as apochryphal by Señor Cotarelo had previously been listed as doubtful by Fernández-Guerra. *El hijo obediente*, classed as doubtful by Fernández-Guerra, is probably Beneito's.

	Written in year	Written before year	Year of first publication	Reasons for dates assigned
*Adúltera penitente (La)	1651(?)	1655	1657	See p. 123 of this study for date of 1651(?). Cáncer died 1655.
Amor y obligación			1658	
Antes morir que pecar	1656(?)		Ms.	See p. 27 of this study for date given.
Antíoco y Seleuco			1654	
* Bruto de Babilonia (El)		1655	1668	Probably written after 1652, date of publication of Guillén de Castro's *Las maravillas de Babilonia*, from which Moreto's play was drawn.
Caballero (El)			1652	Published in *Parte segunda de varios*, Madrid, 1652 according to La Barrera (*Op. cit.*, p. 704) who had not seen volume but who gives Fajardo's analysis of it. This volume not mentioned by Cotarelo or Fernández-Guerra.
* Caer para levantar		1655	1662	
† Cautela en la amistad (La)		1635	1650	See p. 124 of this study for date assigned.
Cena de Baltasar (La)		1648(?)	undated *suelta*	Mentioned in *Entremés del doctor Carlino*, written between March, 1642 and June, 1648. See Restori, *Piezas de títulos de comedias*, p. 129.
Cómo se vengan los nobles			1668	
* Confusión de un jardín (La)			1681	Probably written after Castillo Solórzano's death (1649?).

	Written in year	Written before year	Year of first publication	Reasons for dates assigned
Defensor de su agravio (El)			1671	
De fuera vendrá	1653		1654	The siege of Gerona (1653) is mentioned as a piece of news.
‡ Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid			1678	
Desdén con el desdén (El)			1654	
† Eneas de Dios (El)		1651	1661	See p. 144 of this study for date given.
† En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza			undated *suelta*	
† Engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel (Los)	1640?		undated *suelta*	The rebellion in Portugal (Nov. 1640) is mentioned as a bit of news.
‡ Escarramán			1671	
‡ Esclavo de su hijo (El)			1670	
* Fingida Arcadia (La)	1664?		1666	See p. 131 of this study for date given.
Fingir y amar		1659	1661	See Pérez Pastor: *Documentos para la biografía de Calderón*, p. 266.
† Fortuna merecida (La); Merecer para alcanzar		1637	1678	See p. 132 of this study for date given.

	Written in year	Written before year	Year of first publication	Reasons for dates assigned
Fuerza de la ley (La)	1651		1654	Sebastián de Prado was to represent it as a *comedia nueva* in Toledo in 1651. See Cotarelo, *Sebastián de Prado*, p. 78.
* Fuerza del natural (La)			1661	
† Gala del nadar (La)			1672	
† Hacer del contrario amigo; Empezar a ser amigos		1637 to 1638	1671	See p. 147 of this study for date given.
* Hacer remedio el dolor		1649	1658? 1659	See p. 220 of this study for date given.
Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso			1654	
† Hermanos encontrados (Los)			1653	
Industrias contra finezas			1676	
Jueces de Castilla (Los)		1650	1654	Played in Madrid before the end of the theatrical year of 1650 by companies of Prado and Osorio. See Cotarelo, *Sebastián de Prado*, p. 73.
Licenciado Vidriera (El)		1648	1653	Mentioned in *Entremés del doctor Carlino* (1642–1648). See Restori, *Op. cit.*, p. 129.
Lindo Don Diego (El)			1662	

	Written in year	Written before year	Year of first publication	Reasons for dates assigned
Lo que puede la aprehensión		1653	1654	Imitated by Thomas Corneille in *Le charme de la voix* (1653). Probably written after 1648, date of Tirso's death.
† Más dichosos hermanos (Los)			1662	
Más ilustre francés, San Bernardo (El)	1657(?)		1659	There was a comedy, *Bernardo*, given by Francisco García's company in Madrid between Sept. 10 and Nov. 26, 1657. See Pérez Pastor *Nuevos datos*, *Bulletin Hispanique*, Vol. XV, p. 441.
Mejor amigo el rey (El)			1654	Probably written after 1648, date of Tirso's death.
* Mejor luna africana (La)		1643?	undated *sueltas*	Attributed in one edition to El maestro Alfonso Alfaro, who died in 1643, and others.
* Mejor par de los doce (El)			1673	
† Milagrosa elección de San Pío V (La)	1622–1623?		1673	See p. 135 of this study for date given.
Misma conciencia acusa (La)			1654	
‡ Negra por el honor (La)			1668	
* No hay reino como el de Dios			1670	
No puede ser	1659		1661	Played as a new comedy in Nov., 1659. Cotarelo's *Sebastián de Prado*, p. 121.

	Written in year	Written before year	Year of first publication	Reasons for dates assigned
* Nuestra Señora de la Aurora	1648		1670	See p. 136 of this study for date given.
Nuestra Señora del Pilar			1653	
* Oponerse a las estrellas		1649	1653	See p. 220 of this study for date given.
Parecido (El)		1652	1665	Probably written after 1648, date of Tirso's death.
Parecido en la corte (El)	1652		undated *suelta*	Autograph(?) ms. of 1652; see Fernández-Guerra, *B.A.E.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. x. See also La Barrera, p. 276.
Poder de la amistad (El)	1652		1654	Autograph ms. carries the notation: "Acabéla en Madrid, a 25 de abril de 1652 para Diego de Osorio."
Primero es la honra			1662	
* Príncipe perseguido (El)	1650		1651	See p. 138 of this study for date given.
†* Príncipe prodigioso (El)			1651	
* Rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo (El)	1655		1657	See p. 140 of this study.
‡ Rosario perseguido (El)			1745	
San Franco de Sena			1652	
‡ San Luis Beltrán	1608		1616	See p. 141 of this study for dates.

	Written in year	Written before year	Year of first publication	Reasons for dates assigned
* Santa Rosa del Perú	1669		1671	See p. 151 of this study for date.
† Santo Cristo de Cabrilla (El)			1670	
† Sin honra no hay valentía	1642?		1666	See p. 149 of this study for date.
Trampa adelante	1651		1654	Among the "new comedies" which Sebastián de Prado and his wife contracted to play in Toledo in the year 1651. See Cotarelo, *Sebastián de Prado*, p. 78.
Travesuras de Pantoja (Las)			1662	
‡ Travesuras son valor (early version)			1657	
* Travesuras son valor (later version)			1747	
Valiente justiciero (El)	1657(?)		1657	See p. 27 of this study for date given.
Vida de San Alejo (La)	1657		1658	Played by Osorio, Feb. 10, 1657. See Pérez Pastor, *Doc. para la bio. de Calderón*, p. 245.
* Vida y muerte de San Cayetano (La)	1655		1672	See Barrionuevo's *Avisos* under date Nov. 3, 1655.
Yo por vos y vos por otro			1676	

While considering matters of authenticity and chronology, the student of Moreto must also ask: do the few chronological facts

which we possess, when taken in connection with a careful analysis of his individual comedies, indicate that Moreto's work falls into certain periods? If so, what growth was there in his dramatic technique? Are the different epochs sufficiently marked to enable us to place his undated plays? The critic must even make the problem a more specific one: how explain such wide divergences in content and development as exist between the early plays—plays of intrigue such as †*La cautela en la amistad* (before 1635) and †*Hacer del contrario amigo* (before 1637–38)—and his later well-known comedies such as *De fuera vendrá* (1653) and *No puede ser* (1659)? Are those early comedies which are so far removed from Moreto's usual manner (and others of the same ilk for which we have no date) to be explained by haste? Or should they be considered products of a period of immaturity,—of years when Moreto was blindly imitating Lope de Vega and his late school? Or finally, is it that the plays are wrongly attributed to him?[47]

By my classification given above, I have already indicated my preference for the third interpretation. Haste can never explain to me differences that are so basic as those which exist between the two groups. For the same reason I must reject the hypothesis of a Lopean apprenticeship. Yet, one must grant that the latter possibility has all the charm of the logical, and out of fairness to the suggestion, I shall sketch here the arguments in its favor. Moreto throughout his lifetime continued to use Lope's theatre as a warehouse from which to draw his plots. Such a late play as *No puede ser* is taken from Lope's *El mayor imposible*, and *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, which probably belongs to the middle or late sixties, is a revision of Lope's *El testimonio vengado*. Again, the proponent of such a theory might urge that the fact that Moreto finished his course at Alcalá in May, 1637, but did not take his degree until December, 1639, could find explanation in a literary success which left our author indifferent to the possession of the title of licentiate. He might point out further that already in September, 1639, Moreto is numbered among the panegyrists of Montalbán[48] and that this Lopean

[47] In this connection one wonders if the cousin of Moreto, also named Agustín Moreto (See p. 3, *n.* 6 of this study), was inclined to things literary. If so, there is the possibility that some of the plays which are so far removed from the manner of the dramatist of *El desdén con el desdén* should be attributed to him.

[48] This poem, the earliest product of Moreto's pen which cannot be questioned, is a sonnet printed in the *Lágrimas panegíricas* (Madrid, Imprenta del Reino, 1639), which was published on the occasion of Montalbán's death.

apprenticeship probably lasted until 1642 when, as one of the members of the household of the Archbishop Moscoso, he came under the influence of Calderón.

This youthful period, he would say, is marked by the following tendencies: novelesque and episodic plots; inconsistent and, not infrequently, repugnant characterizations; a style that is at times gongoristic, at times prosaic; a vocabulary that has little in common with that which Moreto was to employ in his later dramas. In his versification the proponent of this theory might note that in this period there is an avoidance of *pareados* and a tendency to use *silvas* in which the percentages of seven-syllable lines mount higher than they were to in later plays.[49] He might note, too, that there is the *lira* of rhyme scheme aBaBcC, which was to disappear later from his theatre, and that, in general, percentages of *redondillas* run somewhat higher (those of *romances* somewhat lower) than was to be true in the days of his maturity. In this period he would have to place such secular plays as †*Hacer del contrario amigo*, †*Sin honra no hay valentía*, †*La cautela en la amistad*, *†*El príncipe prodigioso*, †*En el mayor imposible*, ‡*La negra por el honor*, †*El Eneas de Dios*, and †*La fortuna merecida*.

For myself, however, I must after due deliberation reject the idea of a Lopean apprenticeship (simply because the contrast between the two groups of plays is too great) and suggest that of a Calderonian one, which may have begun in 1642 when Moreto went to Toledo or which may have started earlier. To this period would belong those poorer plays of intrigue[50] which are found in Moreto's theatre, as well as some of the novelesque extravaganzas that reflect little credit upon him. Such comedies as **La confusión de un jardín*, †*Los engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel*, and *Las travesuras de Pantoja* could be easily explained by such an apprenticeship. It might even enable the critic to include in Moreto's theatre *†*El príncipe prodigioso*, †*La fortuna merecida*, †*El Eneas de Dios*, and †*La gala de nadar*. On the other hand, I should still insist that the secular plays ‡*La negra por el honor*, †*Sin honra no hay valentía*, †*La cautela en la amistad*, †*En el mayor imposible*,

[49] Type No. I of *silva*, that is the regular aAbBcC type preferred by Lope, which is found but rarely in well-attested plays of Moreto, is frequent here. See Morley, *Op. cit.*, p. 166. For the application of the term *lira* to the six-line strophe, see Morley, *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

[50] All of Moreto's well-known plays of intrigue may be placed before 1652.

nadie pierda la esperanza, †*Hacer del contrario amigo*, †*Los hermanos encontrados*, and ‡*Travesuras son valor* (primitive version) are wrongly attributed to him.

Certain it is that there is little in the way of chronology to support the theory of the influence of Calderón, for we know little of Moreto's literary activity between 1642 and 1648.[51] On or before the latter date he had written *La cena de Baltasar*[52] and *El Licenciado Vidriera* and had collaborated with Cáncer on **Nuestra Señora del Aurora*. Just how many other comedies came from his pen during these years, we are unable to say. Neither *Parte XXXVII de doce comedias* (Juan Sonsoni, Valencia, 1646) nor the *Doce comedias de las más famosas que hasta ahora han salido de los mejores y más insignes poetas* (Tercera parte, Antonio Álvarez, Lisboa, 1649) contains a play by Moreto. Yet the famous anecdote

[51] To what extent the theatre of Moreto was affected in these years by the disturbed political conditions or by various decrees against the theatre is likewise only a subject for conjecture. As Rennert points out, there was an "aviso" dated March, 1644, which provided that "henceforth no *comedia* which is the author's own invention may be represented, but only *historias* or lives of the saints." (See Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 246, who takes this citation from Pellicer's *Histrionismo*, Vol. I, p. 220.) But that this was not taken too seriously is proved by the recommendations of a body of clerics (made on the death of the Prince Baltasar, Oct. 9, 1646) that the comedies to be represented "relate to some moral subject or concern the life or death of some exemplary person or some noble deed; and that they should be without intermixture of any love affair, and that, in order to attain this end, nearly all the comedies that had been represented down to that time should be prohibited, especially those of Lope de Vega which had worked such harm in the customs of the people." (Quoted from Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 247.) Nor is it known how soon the public theatre opened again after the death of Prince Baltasar, though in February, 1651, the King gave Valencia a decree permitting "*comedias de historias* as they are represented in Madrid, to be performed in Valencia also." Would Moreto's historical plays belong around this date? At least *Los jueces de Castilla*, **El príncipe perseguido*, *La fuerza de la ley* were written in or before 1651. It is not conceivable, however, that the theatre-loving Philip IV was limited to lives of saints or historical plays from 1646–1651, nor that his young bride, Mariana of Austria, should not have demanded dramatic entertainment. And indeed we find in *El averiguador*, (I, 1870, p. 170) that in 1648 Antonio de Prado had performed eight comedies before the King. Such plays as *El Licenciado Vidriera*, **Hacer remedio el dolor*, and **Oponerse a las estrellas*, which were written in approximately these years, are entirely suited to court enjoyment.

[52] There was a *Cena de Baltasar* represented by Pedro Ortegón in Sevilla, 1634 (See Sánchez Arjona, *Op. cit.*, p. 283), but this is hardly Moreto's. Perhaps it is Calderón's auto of similar name, which did not, apparently, appear in print until 1664, *Navidad y Corpus Christi festejado por los mejores ingenios de España*, Madrid.

of Cáncer, which we shall have occasion to quote in connection with our comparative studies, shows that Moreto was already well known as a borrower of earlier plots.[53]

There is abundant evidence that from 1650 to 1654 Moreto was writing steadily[54] and that by the latter date he had reached his literary stride. The collection of 1654 includes such works of art as *El desdén con el desdén*, *De fuera vendrá*, *Trampa adelante*, and *El poder de la amistad*. Yet when the weak play, *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, is included, and the masterpiece, *El Parecido en la corte*, omitted, one must wonder on what basis the selection was made.[55]

From 1654 to 1657, Moreto published nothing with the exception of the *mojiganga*, *El rey Don Rodrigo y la Cava*. This break, which at first glance occasions interest in the light of the curious notice of 1654 and of the *Avisos* of Barrionuevo (1657),[56] apparently means nothing. No volume of the *Escogidas* collection was published from 1654 to 1657, and Moreto probably did not have the material for a second volume of plays. But that he was writing is evident, for one remembers in this connection that he was in Sevilla with the *loas* and *entremeses* which he composed for the feast of Corpus Christi. It seems probable, too, that Moreto was chiefly concerned with religious dramas and *entremeses*[57] in the years around his entrance into the church: two religious plays, *La vida de San Alejo* and *El más ilustre francés, San Bernardo*[58] (both comedies in which the protagonist renounces his earthy love for that of the church), were published respectively in the *Escogidas* of 1658 and 1659,

[53] See pp. 28–29 for this anecdote.

[54] See the quotation from *La fuerza de la ley*, quoted on p. 104 of this study.

[55] These plays were apparently gathered together to send to his "Maecenas," Don Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, Duque de Albuquerque and Marqués de Cuéllar, who in 1653 was Viceroy and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain. It is possible that his taste may in some measure have determined the contents. See Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 4) for a copy of the dedication of Moreto.

[56] See pp. 4–5 of this study.

[57] *El alcalde de Alcorcón* was given in the palace celebrations on Nov. 28, 1657, and *Las fiestas de palacio* was acted on the "día de Reyes," 1658. See Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses*, *N.B.A.E.*, Vol. XVII, p. xciii.

[58] *San Alejo* was presented Feb. 10, 1657 by Osorio. See Pérez Pastor, *Doc. para la bio. de . . . Calderón de la Barca*, p. 245, Doc. num. 146; and a *comedia*, entitled *Bernardo*, was given by Francisco García's company in Madrid between Sept. 10 and Nov. 26, 1657. See Pérez Pastor's *Nuevos datos*, *Bul. Hisp.*, Vol. XV, p. 441.

though carrying approbations of July, 1657, and May, 1658.[59] If *Antes morir que pecar*, *San Casimiro* was inspired by the miracle mentioned in Barrionuevo's *Avisos* under date of April 8, 1656, wherein San Casimiro appears to aid Poland against the Muscovites, then we have a third.

That Moreto continued to write secular plays to the end of his life seems fairly certain in spite of the statements of Nicolás Antonio and Juan Pasano to the contrary. As we have seen, *No puede ser* can be definitely placed in 1659. (See p. 20 of this study.) There is reason to think that **La fingida Arcadia*, published in the *Escogidas* of 1666, was represented before the King in 1664. After 1662 and before Moreto's death, there were printed in the *Escogidas* such worthy plays as *Primero es la honra*, *Industrias contra finezas*, and *Cómo se vengan los nobles*. In 1671, *El defensor de su agravio* was first printed. Perhaps he wrote secular plays only for the court and not for the public theatres.[60]

Do the later plays of Moreto (those published after 1654) show any changes if compared with those that preceded? It is perhaps worthy of note that there is, in the four dramas last mentioned, a seriousness of tone, a broad sympathy, a tolerance for human weakness not found in the *comedias* of the early fifties. In the last mentioned of these four, there is more stress on the lyrical than in the earlier plays.

As regards the versification, there seems reason to think that the *redondilla* was gradually decreasing in popularity, the *romance*

[59] One cannot, of course, conclude that all plays published after 1654 were written after that date, for **Hacer remedio el dolor*, known to be written before 1649 (See p. 220 of this study), was not published in the *Escogidas* until 1659. And certainly *Las travesuras de Pantoja* (published in 1663) must be a youthful effort. Yet, that in general Moreto's popularity was sufficient after his successes of the early fifties to justify book dealers in early publication, is indicated still further by the fact that *No puede ser*, played as a "new comedy" in 1659, was published in the *Escogidas* of the following year. If *El valiente justiciero* was written in honor of the sepulchre which Philip IV was having built in 1657 for the remains of Peter the Cruel, then it was published immediately. (See Barrionuevo's *Avisos* under date July 18, 1657.) If this play was prepared for a special occasion and on short notice, this might explain the plagiarism of the third act.

[60] Certainly, the *entremeses* written in 1657 and 1658 were for royal entertainment. See p. 26, *n.* 57 of this study.

increasing. Taking fifteen representative plays written before 1654[61] and ten published between that date and the end of the playwright's life (1669),[62] one has for the first group 54 per cent *romances* as against 63 per cent in the second and in *redondillas* 29 per cent against 21 per cent. Moreover, a growing fondness for *pareados* and *décimas* with a corresponding decrease of *octava rima* and *quintillas* may be noted.

Briefly summarized, the few facts which we possess in regard to the chronology of Moreto's plays point to the following conclusions:

Moreto, in all probability, began his literary career with plays of novelesque interest such as *Las travesuras de Pantoja* and with works of intrigue such as †*Los engaños de un engaño* or *El Caballero*. All of the latter type were written by 1652. His romantic comedies, such as *Oponerse a las estrellas*, seem to have been "pot-boilers" that for the most part belong to the decade of the forties. However, there is evidence that in the late fifties and early sixties he returned to this type.

His historical dramas should perhaps be ascribed to the years immediately preceding and following 1650, though *El valiente justiciero* was seemingly finished in 1656 and *Cómo se vengan los nobles* about 1667.

His religious plays were apparently written throughout his whole life. Those of hagiographical nature belong largely to the fifties and those in which the hero renounces the world for the church, to the years 1655 to 1660.

His comedies of character apparently extend from the late forties to his death. Some of his masterpieces were written in the last years of his life.

4. MORETO AND HIS SOURCES

It was September of 1649[63] and the Academia Castellana was in

[61] *El Caballero, Trampa adelante, El Licenciado Vidriera, La cena de Baltasar, La fuerza de la ley, San Franco de Sena, El poder de la amistad, El Parecido en la corte, Lo que puede la aprehensión, De fuera vendrá, El mejor amigo el rey, El desdén con el desdén, La misma conciencia acusa, Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, Antíoco y Seleuco.*

[62] *El valiente justiciero, Amor y obligación, La vida de San Alejo, El más ilustre francés, No puede ser, Fingir y amar, El lindo Don Diego, Primero es la honra, Industrias contra finezas,* and *Cómo se vengan los nobles.*

[63] Various dates are assigned to the *Vejamen* of Cáncer; La Barrera (*Op. cit.*, p. 62) and Hurtado y Palencia (*Op. cit.*, p. 735) give 1640 (?); Bonilla y San Martín

session. Every member was in place, for Don Jerónimo Cáncer, who enjoyed no mean reputation as a wit, was to take his seat as secretary that day and all knew that in honor of the occasion he had prepared a burlesque on his co-workers. It was even hoped that he might succeed in piercing the not easily ruffled composure of the young Moreto. Don Jerónimo rose to his feet, there was the hush of expectancy, he began:

"I had a dream in which I saw Parnassus besieged by the Latins and the Italians. In great alarm, Apollo called upon the bands of Castile to come to his rescue. They all rushed forward and the battle began. But in the midst of all the danger, I saw that Don Agustín Moreto had kept his seat and that he was examining some yellowed papers which apparently were old, forgotten comedies. He was saying to himself: 'This is worthless.' 'One might use this by changing it a bit: it would fit in right here.' I grew angry at his unconcern: every one else had a weapon in his hand. I asked him why he didn't go fight like the rest. To this he responded: 'I am fighting harder here than any of you, for I am "mining" the enemy.' 'But sir,' I replied, 'it looks to me as if you are searching for something that you can take from these old comedies.' 'Just so,' he answered, 'that is why I say that I am "mining" the enemy. Listen to this *copla:*

Remember that I'm *mining*
When you complain of me,
For in these comedies of old
I've found a *mine*, you see.'"

The investigations of literary critics since Moreto's day would indicate that Cáncer's dart was admirably chosen and precisely aimed, that our dramatist did find a "brava mina" in the comedies of his predecessors, particularly in those of Lope de Vega. There is no unanimity of opinion as to the interpretation of the facts, however. Schaeffer[64] states that the more dramas of the old Spanish stage that one comes to know, the more sources one will find for the comedies of Moreto; furthermore, if we had before us all the lost plays of the *Siglo de Oro*, we could trace his inspiration for each

(*Vejámenes literarios* . . . por el Bachiller Mantuano, Biblioteca Ateneo, Madrid, 1909, pp. 13–14) accepts Fernández-Guerra's date of 1649 as logical. The later date seems probable to me.

[64] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 185.

and every play. Schack,[65] while readily granting Moreto's indebtedness to his forerunners, feels inclined to pardon him in the light of the happy results that he ordinarily attained. Gassier,[66] on the other hand, has made a most eloquent defense which lines up the plagiarists of all ages and nations to come to his rescue. Fernández-Guerra[67] denies the charge that Moreto had no creative talent. In explanation of his many borrowed plots, he quotes the *aviso* of 1644 which forbade the representation of "original comedies" ('de inventiva propia de los que las hacen') except of *historias* or "lives of saints" and points out the effect such an edict must have had on Moreto, who was at that time just starting his literary career. Moreover, why should the mantle of charity which has been accorded most willingly to other borrowers of the day be denied our dramatist alone? Fitzmaurice-Kelly[68] sees in Moreto a genius of excellent taste who was too lazy to fashion his own plots whereas Señores Hurtado and Palencia[69] feel with Menéndez y Pelayo that one must find the explanation of his plagiaristic policy in an "instinct for perfection which was only too rare among Spanish dramatists of the Golden Age!"

* * *

It has not been my primary purpose to study the sources of Moreto's theatre. Nevertheless, in order to arrive at a clear comprehension of his virtues and limitations as a dramatist through the contrasts which such comparisons must afford, it has been necessary to weigh the accuracy of the many analogies that have been pointed out between his comedies and those of his predecessors and contemporaries and thus to reach a fairly precise estimate as to the extent, nature, and cause of his indebtedness. I shall summarize here my opinion as to the *extent* of this debt; but all discussion of its *nature* and *cause* will be embodied in the chapter on the playwright's dramatic art.[70]

1. **La adúltera penitente* has the same general situation as Rojas' *La Magdalena de Nápoles* as well as the triangle of charac-

[65] *Lit. y arte dramático en España*, Madrid, 1887, Vol. V, pp. 97–98.

[66] *Le Théâtre Espagnol*, Paris, Paul Ollendorff, 1898, pp. 383–390.

[67] *Op. cit.*, pp. xii-xiii.

[68] *Hist. de la lit. esp.*, Madrid, 1914, p. 360.

[69] *Hist. de la lit. esp.*, Madrid, 1921, p. 736.

[70] The individual studies on which all conclusions rest have been placed in the Appendix, pp. 152–201.

ters essential to its development. There are in the first act scenes which resemble roughly those of the source, but there are no verbal parallels. The evidence is not sufficient to convince me that Moreto and his collaborators knew Rojas' play. I have not been able to make any comparisons with Claramonte's *Púsoseme el sol*, Diamante's *Negro más prodigioso*, and the anonymous *Negro más alevoso y pirata del honor*. Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 19) declares that there is no relationship.

2. **El bruto de Babilonia* is, its first and third acts, a flagrant plagiarism of Guillén de Castro's *Las maravillas de Babilonia*. The second act, which I ascribe to Moreto, has borrowed from its source the general outline of the plot, but is independent in matters of characterization, dialogue, and versification.

3. **Caer para levantar* is heavily indebted to Mira de Amescua's *El esclavo del demonio* for (1) the main plot, (2) the chief characters, and (3) a considerable number of lines. Eight scenes of Moreto's forty-two are virtually paraphrases of the source, and sixteen others have partial equivalents in the earlier play.

4. *Cómo se vengan los nobles* is taken from Lope's *El testimonio vengado*. Moreto has used the story and the layout of characters involved. He has changed the thesis and metamorphosed the characterization. The dialogue and versification show no influence of Lope's *comedia*.

5. **La confusión de un jardín* has taken the outlines of its plot and the characters essential to develop it from Castillo Solórzano's *La confusión de una noche*. In one scene the dialogue virtually amounts to a paraphrase. The characterization is Moreto's.

6. *De fuera vendrá quien de casa nos echará* has the same thesis and the same plot (in its broad outlines) as Lope's *De cuando acá nos vino*. There is no evidence of the influence of versification but one finds now and then paraphrases of Lope's lines.

7. *El desdén con el desdén*, for all the eighteen sources that have been suggested, must be considered an original work—so perfectly has the author fused his materials. The *gracioso* is nearer in type to Hernando of Lope's *Los milagros del desprecio* than to any other character to be found outside the theatre of Moreto. The feminine protagonist has characteristics in common with the heroines of four different plays of Lope (*La vengadora de las mujeres, Los milagros del desprecio, La hermosa fea, and De cosario a cosario*), of one of Tirso (*Celos con celos se curan*), and of one of Juan Vélez de

Guevara (*Encontráronse dos arroyuelos*). I have found no source for the male protagonist of *El desdén con el desdén* except in another play associated with Moreto's name, **Hacer remedio el dolor*, which may be considered an embryonic study of the playwright's masterpiece. The other essential elements of Moreto's comedy may be found in Lope's three plays: *Los milagros del desprecio*, *La hermosa fea*, and *La vengadora de las mujeres*. The greatest debt is to the first and third.

8. **El Eneas de Dios y el Caballero del Sacramento* takes its situation and at least fifty lines from Lope's *El Caballero del Sacramento*. The changes made are not, for the most part, characteristic of Moreto's usual methods.

9. **La fingida Arcadia* has borrowed from Lope's play, *La Arcadia*, the names which the characters assume while playing a pastoral rôle and has vaguely paralleled the Arcadian story in the love tangles of the characters. The dénouement has been changed. If the comedy associated with Moreto's name owes anything to Tirso's play of the same name, it is for a mere detail of motivation. There are no verbal borrowings from either of the suggested sources.

10. **La fuerza del natural* has the same general situation as Leyva Ramírez de Arellano's *Cuando no se aguarda y príncipe tonto*. There are, also, three scenes in Moreto's play which have corresponding ones in Leyva's comedy, though without verbal parallels. The historical facts are such as to lead me to believe that Leyva was the borrower, not Moreto.

11. *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* is an unsatisfactory reworking of Guillén de Castro's *Los hermanos enemigos*. Twelve of Moreto's forty-two scenes find virtual parallels in the play of the Valencian, but there is no borrowing of dialogue.

12. *Industrias contra finezas* is reminiscent of Tirso's *Palabras y plumas*, but the evidence for indebtedness is too shadowy to warrant one in assuming it. The play of Moreto's in question is nearer to his own *El mejor amigo el rey* than to Tirso's comedy.

13. *El Licenciado Vidriera* owes virtually nothing to Cervantes' novel of the same title except the name, the conception of a "protagonist of glass," and the general theme of human ingratitude.

There is no question of indebtedness on Moreto's part to either Lope's *La necedad del discreto* or Matos' *El yerro del entendido*.

14. *El lindo Don Diego* is a happy revision of Guillén de Castro's *El Narciso en su opinión* with which it has five scenes in com-

mon. Moreto has borrowed the main outlines of the plot and the characterization of the protagonist.

15. *Lo que puede la aprehensión* is a mosaic which has derived its subplot from Lope's *Mirad a quien alabáis;* its title and the general conception of a romantic protagonist who falls in love with a lady whose face he has never seen, from Tirso's *La celosa de sí misma;* one of the songs and the suggestion for a slight modification of the general situation from Calderón's *La desdicha de la voz.*

16. *El más ilustre francés* has one humorous scene that recalls Belmonte's *El diablo predicador,* but in my estimation, the character of the *gracioso* is nearer in type to Cervantes' Sancho than to Belmonte's Fray Antolín.

17. *El mejor amigo el rey* owes its theme, its plot and order of events, its characterization, and one or two conceits and phrases to Tirso's *Cautela contra cautela.*

18. **El mejor par de los doce* is an unsuccessful reworking of Lope's *Las pobrezas de Reinaldos,* in which Moreto and Matos have not only followed the plot, and at times, the sequence of events, but have also paraphrased the dialogue and, now and then, borrowed consecutive lines.

19. *La misma conciencia acusa* has taken the situation from Lope's *Despertar a quien duerme* while changing the theme and the dénouement of the story. Thirteen of Moreto's 53 scenes have complete or partial parallels in Lope's play, but there is only one where the dialogue shows any resemblance to the original.

20. **No hay reino como el de Dios* has borrowed the outline of the plot from ‡*Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid.* It is independent in matters of dialogue and characterization.

21. *No puede ser* looks to Lope's *El mayor imposible* as its source. The later dramatist has taken the theme, the plot, and the essential characters. On occasion, he has paraphrased the dialogue.

22. *El Parecido* has the same initial situation as Tirso's *El castigo del penseque,* but Moreto changed the dénouement, eliminating the subplot and transforming the characterization. In one scene the dialogue of *El Parecido* is reminiscent of its source.

El Parecido en la corte, which is ordinarily considered a revision of Moreto's *El Parecido,* differs in its first half from its source only in minor details; in the second half, a new character has been introduced, the order of scenes shifted, and the dialogue changed at times. Neither version shows the influence of Cervantes' *La en-*

tretenida, nor of Plautus' *The Menaechmi*, nor of Alarcón's *Quién engaña más a quién.*

23. **El príncipe perseguido* is indebted to Lope's *El gran Duque de Moscovia y emperador perseguido* for the plot, the layout of characters, and three fragments of dialogue.

24. *†*El príncipe prodigioso* is a shortened version of Lope's *Príncipe prodigioso transilvano*. The latter half of the play, which is attributed to Moreto, owes virtually nothing to its source.

25. *San Franco de Sena* shows a certain analogy with Tirso's *El condenado por desconfiado* in its theme of repentance and in its characterization of the protagonist. I doubt that there is any relationship between *San Franco de Sena* and Lope's *La mal casada.* The play is much nearer to Moreto's **Caer para levantar* (and therefore indirectly to Mira de Amescua's *El esclavo del demonio*) than to either Tirso's or Lope's work.

26. **Travesuras son valor* (revised version) is a reworking of an old play that was probably called ‡*Don Sancho el Malo*. It is indebted to the source for the plot and cast of characters. The dénouement has been changed and the characters transformed. The last part of Act II has borrowed 130 lines out of a possible 400.

27. *El valiente justiciero* is an adaptation of Lope's *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid y el infanzón de Illescas*, which in the last half of the third act is so near the original as to be termed plagiaristic. Twelve of the eighteen scenes of Moreto have close parallels in content; seven have borrowed the dialogue (a total of some 100 lines) and its assonance. Act II is indebted only for the general outline of the story; Act I for this and, in addition, some 50 lines of dialogue.

I see no reason for relating one of the scenes of Moreto's play to Lope's *Los novios de Hornachuelos.*

28. *Los jueces de Castilla, La fuerza de la ley*, and *Primero es la honra* give evidence of being taken from sources now lost to us. Schaeffer suggests that *Industrias contra finezas* be included in the same list, but his proof is not convincing to me.

* * *

We may sum up briefly the extent of Moreto's indebtedness to his predecessors and contemporaries by saying:

1. **La adúltera penitente* **La fingida Arcadia*, *Industrias contra finezas*, *El Licenciado Vidriera*, *El más ilustre francés*, and *San*

Franco de Sena owe so little to their indicated sources as to make censure impossible.

2. On eleven occasions, the dramatist has borrowed the general situation and the *dramatis personae* essential to its development. In the case of *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, *De fuera vendrá*, *El desdén con el desdén*, *El lindo Don Diego*, *La misma conciencia acusa*, *No puede ser*, and *El parecido en la corte*, the results are happy enough to make Moreto's action a meritorious one; the revisions of **La confusión de un jardín*, *Lo que puede la aprehensión*, and *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* are so weak, by comparison with their sources, as to be self-condemnatory.

3. The plays wherein the author has appropriated the dialogue as well as the situation (and sometimes even the sequence of events) are eight in number. The percentage of lines borrowed in **El Eneas de Dios*, **El mejor par de los doce*, **El príncipe perseguido*, and **Travesuras son valor* (second version) is so small as not to bring censure on Moreto; the results, however, do not justify the author in the effort expended.

**El bruto de Babilonia*, **Caer para levantar*, and *El valiente justiciero* have retained so many lines of their sources as to make it impossible to defend the dramatist against the charge of plagiarism.

El mejor amigo el rey, though the actual number of lines appropriated is negligible, is so near the original in its sequence of events as to be open to the same indictment.

4. There are two other plays, *La fuerza de la ley* and *Los jueces de Castilla*, for which the sources have been lost. It is not impossible, too, that *Primero es la honra* borrowed its plot from a lost *comedia* of Lope's.

Thus out of the six religious plays which are attributed to Moreto alone, two only have slight parallels. Eight others were written in collaboration and three of these are revisions.

Of the five novelesque comedies ascribed to our dramatist alone, sources have been found for two; all three of those written in collaboration are reworkings of older plays.

Two of his four plays of intrigue have derived the general situation from earlier works.

Of the 17 comedies of character or idea attributed to Moreto

alone, ten have definite sources, and there is reason to believe that in the case of three others, the model has been lost. Five others were written in collaboration, and at least one is derived in part from an earlier play.

Thus of the 32 plays which Moreto wrote by himself, definite sources are known for 15; analogies have been pointed out in the case of 6 others. Of the 16 written in collaboration, 8 have known models. There are three plays, ‡*La ocasión hace al ladrón*, ‡*El esclavo de su hijo*, and †*El Eneas de Dios* which are reworkings of known plays, but these three do not in my opinion belong in Moreto's theatre. **La fuerza del natural* is probably the source of Leyva Ramírez' *Cuando no se aguarda*, not a revision of it.

Such facts do much to justify Schaeffer in his assertion that if we had all of the comedies of the Golden Age, we should have a source for each and every comedy of Moreto. But, had our dramatist always worked alone and had he invariably limited himself to comedies of character, one should only regret that he did not revise more of the formless comedies of the Lopean period.

CHAPTER II

THE THEATRE OF MORETO

1. His Religious Theatre

Before discussing Moreto's secular plays, I shall first dispose of his religious theatre. To the modern reader this offers no interest other than the indirect light it sheds on the dramatist's temperament or the contrast it affords his secular comedies. It consists of (1) hagiographical material, drawn for the most part from the *Flos sanctorum;* (2) of episodes taken from Holy Writ, at times through the medium of an earlier play; and (3) of comedies written in honor of some particular shrine. In the first group one may mention **La adúltera penitente*, *Antes morir que pecar*, **Caer para levantar*, *Los más dichosos hermanos*, *El más ilustre francés*, *San Franco de Sena*, **Santa Rosa del Perú*, *La vida de San Alejo*, and **La vida y muerte de San Cayetano;* in the second, **El bruto de Babilonia* and *La cena del rey Baltasar;* in the third, ‡*Dejar un reino por otro*, **No hay reino como el de Dios*,* *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*, and **Nuestra Señora del Pilar.*

In developing the materials of his sources, Moreto has not given evidence of the taste that he ordinarily displayed in reworking secular plays. For his failure in this regard, one must seek an explanation that is fourfold: (1) the haste with which they were so obviously written; (2) the dramatic ideals of the day; (3) the playwright's deep respect for religious tradition; (4) the limitations of his own character. He has not used the poet's prerogative of selection, and as a result the unpoetic and the ludicrous are indiscriminately patched together into a wearisome chronicle: San Casimiro (*Antes morir que pecar*) dies rather than yield to incontinence; San Alejo (*La vida de San Alejo*), returning to his home in disguise, takes humble lodging in a corner beneath the stairs; Nebuchadnezzar (**El bruto de Babilonia*) appears on the stage as a beast of the fields accompanied by his keeper Alcócer.

If from his sources Moreto subtracted little, he often added much. To relieve monotony, he elaborated the love story, or if not present in his source, he invented one. This subplot ordinarily takes one of two forms. In such plays as *Antes morir que pecar*, *El más ilustre francés*, and *La vida de San Alejo*, the devil tempts the

saintly protagonist with the love of a beautiful but unscrupulous woman. One hardly need add that Satan is never successful in his plans, for all of the cohorts of Heaven rally to the aid of the saint. The other situation common to Moreto's religious plays is that of a young rebel who, following first the primrose path of pleasure and love in defiance of God's wishes, is later directed by the Divine Will into the road that leads to Salvation,—usually through the prayers and offices of some saintly character that affords effective contrast in characterization. **La adúltera penitente*, **Caer para levantar*, **Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*, *San Franco de Sena*, **Santa Rosa del Perú*, †*El Santo Cristo de Cabrilla*, **La vida y muerte de San Cayetano*, all present this situation. Its recurrence is interesting primarily because in his secular plays Moreto studiously avoided as protagonists the philandering hero and the indecorous heroine incident to a theme of this nature.

In reworking his religious sources, Moreto did not fail to develop all hints of the supernatural, though he made little or no use of it in his secular theatre.[1] Practical craftsman that he was, our dramatist inevitably paid tribute to the taste of a public which demanded elaborate stage machinery[2] in its religious plays. One reads in **Nuestra Señora del Pilar* (Act III, p. 33): "de arriba bajará Santiago en un caballo hasta alcanzarlo a reñir con la espada y así pasará hasta el otro lado. Hase de obscurecer[3] el teatro y caer rayos con estruendo de truenos." In *La vida de San Alejo* (Act II, p. 19), the devil would tempt the protagonist by bringing before him a picture of home and of the events that were taking place within: but, "al decir Jesús, desaparece todo (the vision of Rome and his fireside) y los que están en él, unos volando y otros hundiéndose, y quédase el teatro como de antes." With the protagonist of **Santa Rosa del Perú* (Act III, p. 20), which is of date 1669, the very trees sing hymns of praise to God: "los árboles han de estar puestos en

[1] He has eliminated it completely in **El mejor par de los doce* and *El Licenciado Vidriera*, and in *El valiente justiciero* he has reduced it to a minimum.

[2] For the enormous sums which were expended in the production of *autos*, see Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de Calderón*, Vol. I, pp. 166–167, Madrid, 1905. For a description of their production, see the extract which Rennert (*The Spanish Stage*, pp. 325–328) has taken from the English version of Francis van Aerssen's journal of date 1654–55.

[3] Would this not indicate that plays were sometimes given at night? See Rennert (*The Spanish Stage*, p. 111): "Dramatic performances in the public theatres always took place in the afternoon."

forma que se puedan mover a compás." The stage directions for the representation of the fiery furnace (**El bruto de Babilonia*, Act II, p. 23) are as follows: "Ábrese el horno ardiendo por abajo, y por arriba será todo jardín, y en una elevación de gloria van subiendo los tres mancebos y en ellos (sic) el ángel." In this stress on stage mechanics for his religious plays, Moreto followed a method quite in accord with that of other writers of the day, but one which is contrary to what we might expect from his secular comedies.

The third and most important change which Moreto has made in the use of his sources is in the addition of the comic element. The *gracioso's* rôle is an indispensable (and at times inharmonious) one in his religious plays. The author has, however, succeeded in making the comic character an integral part of his drama. This he accomplished either by having him take direct part in the action of the play (as in his *La cena de Baltasar*), or by making him, materialist that he is, stand in constant contrast to his idealistic master (as in *La vida de San Alejo*). In this latter rôle the master hungers for spiritual grace; the servant for the unattainable fleshpots. The master is humble, hardly daring to believe the spiritual favors which a life of service has merited; the servant is comically self-satisfied with his virtue, laboring not infrequently under the illusion that he is a saint, and therefore capable of miracles. The master is an example of moral and physical courage, fearless in the pursuit of good; the servant is a coward, a hypocritical one at times, willing at every moment to renounce his spiritual aspirations in order to save his skin.[4] He is, in this rôle, almost invariably a lay brother (*lego* or *donado*), and it is this fact, no doubt, which leads Guillén y Buzarán to make the statement that he serves as Moreto's mouthpiece in satirizing those who are in the church

[4] Hungry servants in Moreto's religious plays are: Bodigo (**Santa Rosa del Perú*), Pablo (**Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*), Pasquín (*La vida de San Alejo*), Gonela (**La vida y muerte de San Cayetano*), Colín (*El más ilustre francés*), Dato (*San Franco de Sena*).

Workers of miracles are Bodigo (**Santa Rosa del Perú*), Pablo (**Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*), Morondo (**La adúltera penitente*), Pasquín (*La vida de San Alejo*), Golondro (**Caer para levantar*).

Cowards are Mastuerzo (**No hay reino como el de Dios*), Pablo (**Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*), Morondo (**La adúltera penitente*), Colín (*El más ilustre francés*), and Alcócer (**El bruto de Babilonia*).

without any real vocation for religious life.[5] It is an interesting interpretation of the facts, but I am personally inclined to think that this relationship of master and servant, as well as the contrasts afforded, grew out of the exigencies of dramatic realism and technique rather than out of any desire on Moreto's part to satirize certain elements of the church.

The *graciosos* of Moreto's religious plays afford sources of laughter other than the contrast indicated. Frequently their rôle differs little from that of the comic figure in a secular play. Bato (*La cena del rey Baltasar*) with his rustic pronunciation, his mixups in vocabulary and titles, his airs of ambassador, can find a close parallel in Tirso of *La misma conciencia acusa*. Dato (*San Franco de Sena*) in his advocacy of cave-man methods toward women and in his predilection for puns, is related to the many clever servants of Moreto's secular theatre.

While the additions that Moreto made to his sources explain the popularity of his plays in their own day, they must likewise explain in part the small admiration that modern readers feel for his religious comedies. Taken in themselves, his *graciosos* are delightful. Indeed, at times they offer the only relief from the utter boredom of the religious chronicle, but it must be granted that their jokes and puns are frequently out of place, robbing the situation of what little passion and dignity it might otherwise possess. The cape and sword episodes, needless to say, tend in the same direction.

However, for the complete explanation of Moreto's failure in his religious comedies, one must look deeper: neither haste, nor respect for religious tradition, nor his concessions to the public in the matters of the comic and the romantic can in my opinion suffice to explain the dissatisfaction which the modern reader feels on perusing Moreto's religious plays. For the answer, I feel that we must look to the dramatist's own character. His work shows clearly that he had not that appreciation of the mystical, that understanding of the sublime, nor that comprehension of the tragic depths of life which enabled his great contemporary to transform pictures of the commonplace into scenes of moving beauty and grandeur. One has only to read Calderón's *La cena de Baltasar* and compare it with Moreto's *La cena del rey Baltasar* to realize the chasm that

[5] Guillén y Buzarán, *Revista de Ciencias*, Sevilla, 1855, Vol. I, p. 670.

separates the temperaments of the two men. In general, our playwright has exalted the virtues of charity, humility, temperance in food and drink, of penance, of submission to the Higher Will—, above all of chastity and repentance, but there is little evidence of any mystical fervor in his makeup. San Bernardo (*El más ilustre francés*) and Don Diego (**Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*), to be sure, use the vocabulary of the mystics, but they are not convincing.

If one may judge by his plays, Moreto was a loyal son of the Church, on the whole uncritical of its doctrines, its conduct, or its ministers. Monastic life finds its defense on more than one occasion. To one who would win renown on the field of battle, Moreto would say that "to conquer self is the greatest of victories."[6] To those who would gain earthly riches, he would urge the undeniable fact that they cannot carry them to the grave and that life is so brief that it often seems as if "tomorrow's door stands on the threshold of tonight." In fact, Demetrio asks:

> ¿Hay vida de tanta suerte
> como ésta? En que a la partida
> vuelva el rostro el varón fuerte
> y se encuentre con la muerte
> sin que le asuste la vida
> . . . . . .
> Nadie se compare, pues,
> a quien vive en este estado
> pues, aunque pobres los ves,
> están mirando a sus pies
> todo lo que han despreciado.[7]

There are two passages in Moreto's theatre which are satirical at the expense of the clerical profession. One, which is found in the second act of **La adúltera penitente*, satirizes (in the character of the *gracioso*) the hypocrisy and false devotion of certain members of the Church. To me, it is doubtful that this part of the play is Moreto's handiwork, though Fernández-Guerra[8] felt otherwise. The other passage, which is likewise to be found in a work written in collaboration, **El príncipe perseguido*, satirizes the gluttony of certain friars. Pepino remarks:

[6] *El más ilustre francés*, Act I, p. 141b.
[7] *El príncipe perseguido*, Act II, p. 18.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. xxix, under heading **La adúltera penitente*.

Va andando la tabla llena;
y pone cada varón
las manos en su porción
y los ojos en la ajena.
Luego empiezan los cuchillos
en los platos la armonía,
y en la fuerte ferrería
de mascar a dos carrillos
chiquichaques de quijadas;
que hay runfla de dentelladas
que parecen caldereros.
Y entre el sonoro ejercicio
que al bajar y subir crecen
tantas manos, que parecen
dos cazos del artificio,
prorumpe un fraile: "a obediencia
nos obliga este instituto";
y al son de aquel estatuto
hacen todos penitencia, etc.[9]

It is in answer to this criticism that Demetrio makes the defense given above. Although the versification of this act is not entirely characteristic of Moreto, I am inclined to think that this passage is the product of his pen. Both the aesthete and the churchman in Moreto must have protested against gluttony. As we have seen, many of his lay members never see spiritual values because of their interest in food. Our dramatist would probably have altered Emerson's words on Montaigne to read: "Would you be tender and scrupulous,—you must eat less mince pie."

In his secular theatre Moreto was, as we shall see, ahead of his time. In the religious *comedia* he is entirely of his own day. Moreover, if put in comparison with other dramatists of his time, he cannot, in this genre, be said to rise above the level of mediocrity.

2. His Secular Theatre

A. THE MECHANICS OF HIS PLAYS

a. Plot Structure

Opening scenes of Moreto's theatre ordinarily fulfill all the technical requirements of models. As a rule they give the setting, present the chief characters, and outline the situation in clear, straightforward fashion. Not infrequently they declare the thesis

[9] *El príncipe perseguido*, II, p. 18.

and foreshadow the action that is to follow. Let *La fuerza de la ley* serve as an example. Seleuco, presented with a petition in which a certain Cintio (charged with adultery) asks for remission of the law which would put out his eyes, angrily refuses the request, saying:

que la ley de una ciudad
es basa de sus murallas.[10]

Scenes follow immediately wherein we are apprised of the king's intention of marrying his niece Aurora to Alejandro, victorious commander of his squadrons, even though the former is adored by his son Demetrio and the latter by his daughter Nise. The drama proper is the tragic result of this arbitrary marriage: the monarch is forced into the position of condemning his own son Demetrio by the law which he had enforced against Cintio. In similar fashion the opening lines of *La cena del rey Baltasar* and of *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* outline the story that is to follow.

Yet, Moreto's exposition does not offer the charm that Lope de Vega's affords. The variety as well as the freshness which characterizes that of his predecessor are lacking. Nowhere is it more evident than in the opening scenes that Moreto's is a reflective theatre, Lope's one of plot. The earlier dramatist not infrequently begins his comedy with action; the latter with explanatory dialogue[11] in which long speeches of two and three hundred lines are not uncommon. Such monologues more often than not follow the request for news of one who has been absent, a request which frequently takes the specific form of "Why so sad?" In these long relations of expositorial nature, Moreto was but catering to the taste of the day.[12] They have, in a measure, replaced the flights of lyrical fancy which the audiences of Lope enjoyed so greatly.

This tendency toward order and clarity may be seen, not only in the opening scenes, but throughout the development of the play.

[10] *La fuerza de la ley*, I, 1, p. 81.

[11] *No hay reino como el de Dios* and *San Franco de Sena*, however, start with action. Moreover, in **El mejor par de los doce* and *El valiente justiciero*, expository speeches of the source have been expanded into scenes of action, contrary to Moreto's usual custom.

[12] This may be seen in the introduction of the long expositorial speech of Fernando in the second version of *El Parecido en la corte* (I, 1, pp. 311–312), lines which were lacking in the primitive version. The discourse of Fenisa on love and its phenomena in *Lo que puede la aprehensión* (I, 1, pp. 167–168) is likewise so undramatic that one can but see in it a concession to the literary tastes of the day.

Moreto's plots ordinarily fall into great blocks. *El Licenciado Vidriera* (written before 1648), wherein Carlos' hopes of winning the fair Laura are dependent on financial preferment, may be charted as follows: At the end of Act I, the protagonist has every reason to hope for a rosy future, for has he not won for the Duke of Urbana a battle which assures the latter his crown and his bride? Those hopes not realized, he has by the end of Act II decided to play the rôle of the Licentiate of Glass. By the close of Act III the ruse has proved successful and Carlos wins both preferment and love. Most of the comedies of Moreto could be charted in the same fashion.

How have such order and economy been obtained? In the first place one sees it repeatedly demonstrated in the comparative studies[13] that the playwright has carefully eliminated every subplot which he could not tie up closely with the main thread of interest.[14] **Caer para levantar*, *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, **La confusión de una noche*, *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, **No hay reino como el de Dios*, *No puede ser*, **El príncipe perseguido*, *†El príncipe prodigioso*, and others illustrate conscious effort to this effect. So invariably was the dramatist's method one of simplification that the departure of *El valiente justiciero* in this regard immediately suggests the possibility of a collaborating hand. Lope's plays have five, six, seven, even eight clearly defined plots. Moreto's seldom have more than two or three, and these are almost invariably bound together with neat compactness. This is a statement that holds true whether the relationship be that of *No puede ser*, wherein it is virtually that of a play-within-a-play; or that of *Yo por vos y vos por otro*, which, from the standpoint of technique, affords almost a perfect example of the double plot; or that of the great mass of Moreto's comedies in which the subplot serves only to effect a contrast in characterization and to help, first, in the complication, and later, in the resolution of the main story.

When the rôle of the servants attains to the dignity of a third subplot, the interlinking is accomplished in various ways. At times it is brought about by a parallelism which parodies the action of the main characters, as in *Amor y obligación*, *Fingir y amar*, and

[13] See pp. 152–201 of this study.

[14] As a result, Moreto's comedies usually are from 300 to 1000 lines shorter than their sources of the Lopean school.

El mejor amigo el rey. At other times, as in *La misma conciencia acusa,* the *gracioso* is the go-between for opposing forces and as such is an essential part in the resolution of the main plot. Still more frequently, as in *Trampa adelante, No puede ser,* or *El desdén con el desdén,* he is the stage director who in part or in whole directs the destinies of the protagonists. And no matter which of the three rôles may be his, he usually serves as an ironic commentator on the romantic tendencies of his master. He frequently marries the maid of the heroine, but this "pairing-off," it seems to me, is not so inevitable as in Calderón's plays of intrigue.

Moreto has given genuine care to climactic effects. Seldom are they forced. Chance, of course, plays an important part in his comedies of intrigue, but in his plays of character, it is rare that action is more than justly dependent on fortuitous circumstances. *El Licenciado Vidriera* is the notable exception. Moreover, the technical climax of the play (that is, the point where the fate of the protagonist begins to change) will often be found to coincide with the exact middle of the play. Such is the case in *El desdén con el desdén, El lindo Don Diego, No puede ser, Trampa adelante* and others. Still again, hasty, unforeseen endings, are rare in Moreto's theatre, the exceptions being **Travesuras son valor, El valiente justiciero,* and *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso.*[15]

Nor has the dramatist been content to work for a forceful climax of interest at the end of the play: he has, as well, sought climactic effect within each act.[16] Each of the great blocks into which his comedy falls must close with a "big scene" which is ordinarily followed by a few words that foreshadow the events of the next. *El poder de la amistad* (1652) will serve as an example.

Act I: Alejandro, his fortune wasted in vain endeavors to please the Princess Margarita, can, in competition with other suitors, offer nothing more than the loyal friendships of Luciano, the scholar, and Tebandro, the warrior. This offering scorned, the friends set to work to reduce the fair Margarita to terms and thereby to demonstrate the power of friendship.

[15] The dénouement of †*El Eneas de Dios,* †*La gala de nadar,* †*En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza,* †*La fortuna merecida,* †*Sin honra no hay valentía,* and †*La negra por el honor,* is so utterly ridiculous as to afford one of the strongest arguments against Moreto's authorship.

[16] The consciousness of this effort is revealed in the changes Moreto made in reworking Act II of *El Parecido.*

ACT II: Luciano, by making Margarita jealous of her cousin Matilde and by having Alejandro thrust in prison, forces the capricious heroine to admit to herself her love for Alejandro. It is hinted that Tebandro from without will come to the rescue of his friend.

ACT III: The fortunes of war force the beautiful heroine to acknowledge to the world her love for Alejandro and thus to confess the powers of friendship.

It may be noted, in conclusion, that in this play also the *technical* climax (effect on Margarita of Alejandro's pretended courtship of Matilde) may be found by opening the comedy at its middle page.

Of those technical details which make for realism of effect and unity of tone, I shall have space to say but little. His use of parallelism and contrast, both in characterization and episode, has already been noted. Not infrequently symbolism has been used effectively. Baltasar (*La cena del rey Baltasar*) drops his crown at the feet of Ciro and thus foretells the loss of his crown to the latter. Ramiro (*Cómo se vengan los nobles*) is, in the game with his rustic companions, crowned king; by this method the dramatist foreshadows his rule as king of Aragon. *†*El príncipe prodigioso*, **El mejor par de los doce*, *La fuerza de la ley*, **La adúltera penitente*, and †*La negra por el honor* also contain interesting examples of the use of symbolism. Again, one may point out as one of the factors which make for unity of effect the great care which Moreto takes to insure perfect comprehension in the mind of the spectator. However much the poor characters may struggle in the maze of circumstances which surround them, the audience is not at a loss as to the true state of affairs.[17] Thus does the author induce in the consciousness of his listeners that feeling of superiority which comes from a discreetly flattered vanity.

Such perfect understanding is often accomplished, however, by the abuse of asides or by the still more undramatic monologue. *Antíoco y Seleuco* and *Industrias contra finezas* are cases in point. In *El defensor de su agravio*, in his anxiety to keep listeners informed of the true state of mind of his characters, Moreto has used no less than thirteen monologues which range in length from ten to one hundred lines. On the other hand, such a play as *No puede ser* (of

[17] The secret of *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* is an exception.

date 1659) does not offer a single one. Rarely do such monologues serve as an excuse to inject the lyrical (as with Lope) or as mere "fillers" by which the author prevents the stage from being emptied.[18]

b. Setting

As another technical detail which makes for realism of effect, one may point out the careful motivation of the entrances and exits of Moreto's characters. Unlike most of those of Lope or of Guillén de Castro, they do not rush on or off the boards at the caprice of the author; and since their entrances seem inevitable, Moreto usually dispenses with those brief scenes wherein servants announce the arrival of each new character.[19] Any consideration of this subject, however, involves the examination of his settings, inasmuch as it is evident that an emptied stage in Moreto's day was the ordinary signal for a shift of scene; and if the same characters were to occupy the stage after the change was effected, the shift was indicated by their departure through one door and their entrance through another. Rennert[20] considers *La española de Florencia*, which offers an example of this simple convention, as of "especial interest" because it was written between the comparatively late dates of 1630–1635. Yet, in *Trampa adelante* (1650), Casilda and Millán are by this same expedient transferred from the street to the interior of Doña Ana's house.

Casilda: Esa es la casa.
Millan: ¿Tan cerca?
Casilda: Y en aqueste cuarto bajo
(Entranse por una puerta y salen por otra.)
Millán: Muy grande jaula es aquésta.[21]

And in **La fingida Arcadia* which was, there is reason to believe, played before the king in 1664, the scene clearly shifts from the seashore to the interior of the palace, for Filiberto declares to Federico (I, p. 541):

[18] Scene 10 of Act II (p. 502) of *El defensor de su agravio* is, however, nothing but a "filler."

[19] Cf. Tirso's(?) *Cautela contra cautela* and Moreto's revision of it, *El mejor amigo el rey*. See p. 182 of this study.

[20] *The Spanish Stage*, p. 88.

[21] *Trampa adelante*, I, 4, pp. 145–146.

Este es
el sitio más retirado
de palacio.

Yet, that shift was apparently accomplished without change of scenery, for the stage directions are: "Vanse y salen Filiberto, Federico y su criado."[22]

As Rennert[23] has pointed out, this device was often avoided by the use of doors or curtains. With these aids, a portion of the stage, in front of which another scene was arranged, could be disclosed to the eyes of the audience at the proper moment. *El defensor de su agravio* offers a setting (III, 8–11) which can hardly be explained otherwise. The king, in his sitting room, enters first the room of the tower in which his wife is imprisoned and holds with her a lengthy conversation; from there he goes into that of his rival, Alejandro. The first change of locality is accompanied by the following remarks (III, 8, p. 506):

Llave tengo; esta puerta al de mi esposa
pasa, por ella entro;
(Abre la puerta y dice al entrar:)
Mas ya abrí y ya estoy dentro.

As he leaves her room to enter Alejandro's, he declares (III, 10, p. 507):

Cerrar quiero aquesta puerta
y abrir la de su prisión
que divide al otro cuarto
. . . . . .
Esta la puerta ha de ser
y con más seguridad
de poderme conocer,
podré saber la verdad
porque aquí luz no ha de haber.
(Entrase cerrando la puerta y sale por otra.)

Yet that Moreto did not like to overwork this convention may be seen in his revision of Lope's *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid*. Here the humiliation of Lope's protagonist consists in his transfer from room to room—a change of scene that must have been accomplished by departure and re-entrance. Moreto has reduced the three shifts to one.

[22] One may find other examples of this convention in *El Caballero* (II, 20, p. 303), *No puede ser* (I, 1, p. 188), etc.

[23] *The Spanish Stage*, p. 90.

There is good reason to think that the use of simultaneous scenery was still common in Moreto's day. How can one explain otherwise the change from the picturesque mountain scenes of *Antíoco y Seleuco* (I, 1–5) to the elaborate court setting that follows? Or that of the wild hills of *Las travesuras de Pantoja* (wherein steep paths and lofty hills are specifically mentioned) to the interior of a palace in which tables and chairs are indispensable equipment? (See II, 12–13). And to effect this shift, the author says simply: "Entran los dos por un lado y salen por otro." It is difficult to say to what degree the use of light affected such shifts.

One could easily give further examples to prove that stage conditions in Moreto's day had apparently changed little from those of the days of Lope de Vega, and that consequently one still finds that same vagueness of localization which characterized the earlier days of the Spanish drama as well as the British stage of that time.[24] And yet, those conditions were hardly to be expected in view of the well-known predilection of Philip IV for the stage and the enormous sums that were spent in the presentation of some of the comedies.[25]

The simplicity of stagecraft which is indicated by Moreto's stage directions would necessarily have a positive influence on his exits and entrances and a negative one on his choice of locality. If an emptied stage meant a change of setting, then the careful technician would try to avoid leaving his stage bare on other occasions, and such is the case in most of Moreto's comedies. In his better plays, I have noted only one instance (*La fuerza de la ley*, II, 8–9) where the stage is apparently emptied though there is no change of scene indicated. Here, the passing of an hour of time is filled in, awkwardly enough, by the arrival of the servant Irene who begs permission of the audience to soliloquize on the discomforts and disadvantages of "this code of honor which so preoccupies her betters." It may be the care which Moreto had to exercise in making an emptied stage coincide with a change of scene that held him down to the modest two or three shifts per act which ordinarily characterize his comedies. A well-constructed drama such as *El*

[24] See William Archer's article in *Quarterly Review*, April, 1908, p. 442.

[25] See Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 243. Among other citations, one from Barrionuevo's *Avisos* of Jan. 23, 1655 tells us: "Vendrá el rey . . . derecho al Palacio, que no va al Retiro, como solía, por estarle preparando una comedia en él, de tramoya, que dicen costará más de 50,000 ducados."

desdén con el desdén has only twenty-five scenes and five shifts of setting. ‡*La negra por el honor*, on the other hand, has sixty-four scenes and twenty-three shifts! None of the comedies of Moreto which are well-attested make more than ten changes of setting.

In another respect this lack of stress on stage scenery left the dramatist singularly free. He could represent a scene in Poland or Greece with the same ease as a comedy of intrigue whose setting was in Madrid. It is no wonder, then, that of the forty-four secular plays which Cotarelo[26] leaves under Moreto's name, only nine take place in Madrid and eight in other towns of Spain. Of the twenty-seven that remain, twelve have their setting in Italy or Sicily; eight in countries around the eastern Mediterranean (Greece Crete, Antiochia, Cypress, Albania, etc.); three in Russia, Bohemia or Turkey; two in France; one in Portugal; and one in Flanders. In these plays it is useless to ask for realism of stage scenery or of costume. Indeed, the general meagreness of stage directions in Moreto's secular plays would indicate that he left all such worries to the director—if worries they were.

In the matter of unity of time, Moreto's practice varies much. His plays of intrigue cover from a few hours (**La confusión de un jardín*) to three days (*El Parecido en la corte*). Other comedies, however, such as *El Licenciado Vidriera*, cover a period of several weeks; a historical drama of the type of *Los jueces de Castilla* may spread over eight years; and his hagiographical comedies frequently cover a life time.[27] Moreover, lapses of time ordinarily take place between acts, as suggested by Lope in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*,[28] and are clearly indicated at the earliest possible moment in the dialogue that follows. Nevertheless, in the excellent plays *El defensor de su agravio* and *Industrias contra finezas*, the time within the act is not always consecutive.

c. Vocabulary and Dialogue

The vocabulary of Moreto, in general, reflects the love of mod-

[26] *La bibliografía de Moreto*, pp. 19–40.

[27] He is, however, much more given to telescoping time than is Lope. Such revisions as *De fuera vendrá*, **La confusión de un jardín*, **El príncipe perseguido* and others show his tendency to condense opening scenes into long expository speeches and thus cut down the time.

[28] Compare Moreto's *Cómo se vengan los nobles* with its source, Lope's *El testimonio vengado*. It is perhaps superfluous to point out that Lope's practice in this regard did not always agree with his precept.

eration and simplicity have already pointed out in connection with his plots. On one occasion, at least, Moreto pokes fun at the artificial lexicon of the gongorists. Greguesco (*La fuerza de la ley*, I, 10, p. 86) has written a piece of poetry, as he explains to the king,

> . . . un epitalamio
> que le escribí en un andamio,
> por que no hay más consonante.
> Tiene eclípticas radiantes,
> coluros, celajes, rumbos,
> cerúleos y otros retumbos
> de poetas relumbrantes
> que en vascuence poco a poco
> trocar la lengua pretenden;
> los que lo oyen no lo entienden
> ni el que lo escribió tampoco.[29]

Neither so broad nor so specific a vocabulary as that of Lope de Vega, it makes, once the reader is acquainted with it, very few demands on the dictionary.

Nevertheless, one who reads Moreto must be on the alert, for he was an inveterate punster and found such delight in juggling words that he could not, even in moments of passion and dignity, forbear putting a quip into the mouth of his *gracioso*. No better example of a trivial use could be found than that of "casi miro" (Casimiro) in *Antes morir que pecar*, nor of a happy one than that of Comino (*El defensor de su agravio*, I, 1) who, having received orders from Alejandro that he 'speak only of Nisea,' answers every rhapsody of his master with "ni sea."

This delight in juggling words leads him (as it did Tirso) to coin verbs at will. From the proper names of his characters, Diana, Casilda, Lidoro, Franco, Tarugo, Dantea, Fernando, Lisardo, Bato, Moclín, and Morondo, he has made the respective verb forms: dianar, casildó, lidorean, franquean, tarugueáis, dantemos, fernandear, lisardear, batear, moclincas, morondea. In similar fashion, Mosquito assures Don Juan (*El lindo Don Diego*, II, 1, p. 357):

[29] It is impossible for me to believe that Moreto wrote the highly gongoristic †*Hacer del contrario amigo*, much less that his pen is guilty of that literary atrocity which is put into the mouth of the "clever" child Dionysia in †*Sin honra no hay valentía* (I, pp. 10–11). See also *El lindo Don Diego* (I, 12, p. 357) for Moreto's opinion of Góngora.

que en esto hay medio y remedio
y tataramedio y todo

and that Don Diego (II, 1, p. 358)

por en*condecer*
no ha de querer em*primar*.

In *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* (I, p. 7) we have "volanticida" humorously fashioned to mean "pérdida de un volante."

Occasionally, Moreto's love of words took the form of jingling repetitions. In lines that are noteworthy for their paucity of thought, Guijarro sins against justice in the following fashion:

Pues ¿no es ésa una injusticia
de la justicia más fina
que sin justicia ajusticia
a la inocencia? ¡Oh, justicia
de la justicia divina![30]

I cannot, however, persuade myself that Moreto was, even at the age of seventeen, guilty of the lines which are put into the mouth of Carlos in †*La cautela en la amistad* (III, p. 340):

No se si amaros o amarme
o amar a un amante vuestro,
pues solicito que os ame;
y améis a quien os merece
es amarle, pues se parte
entre mí y él la fortuna,
y os pierdo, porque él os gane
es amarme, porque en nada,
cuanto más fino me amaste,
pudiera yo amarme tanto
como en amaros y amarle.

In dialogue, Moreto is at times thoroughly concise. The Marqués, in *Primera es la honra* (I, 1, p. 229), tries to dissuade the king from his courtship of Porcia, daughter of the Almirante:

. . . no le está bien a un rey,
que es custodia de la ley,
publicar un galanteo
de una hija de un almirante
a quien Sicilia pregona
que debe más tu corona
que el cielo al nombre de Atlante.

[30] *Las travesuras de Pantoja*, II, 1, p. 396.

Y este recato, señor,
que mi advertencia te mueve,
más a la reina se debe
que al respeto a su honor;
pues siendo en la sucesión
de Nápoles heredera,
por ella Sicilia espera
destos dos reinos la unión.

Don Juan's account of his encounter with Doña Ana (*Trampa adelante*, I, 1, p. 143) is another excellent example of economy.

What is more, Moreto is clear. His references are not obscure (there is no vain show of learning), nor is his construction involved. In †*La gala de nadar* (II, p. 176), Ramón complains of the inverted sentence order of the gongorists:

No has visto aquella figura
que poetas cultos llaman
transposición, que con ellos
se transponen las palabras,
que para hallar el sentido
son menester dos semanas?

It will be remembered, too, that Mosquito advises Beatriz, the maid, to impress Don Diego by talking "crítico" although he at the same time specifically states that it has gone out of fashion (*El lindo Don Diego*, II, 7, p. 361):

Habla crítico ahora, *aunque no es uso*,
porque si tú el lenguaje le revesas,
pensará que es estilo de condesas;
que los tontos que traen imaginado
un gran sujeto, en viéndole ajustado
a hablar claro, *aunque sea con conceto*,
al instante le pierden el respeto.

Those antiphonal dialogues, so frequent in Calderón, occur but rarely in Moreto's theatre.[31] Occasionally the reader finds one:

Geloira: ¿Qué dices, Señor?
Ramiro: Agravios.
Geloira: ¿De qué los tienes?
Ramiro: Rigor.
Geloira: ¿Quién te los hizo?
Ramiro: Crueldades.
Geloira: ¿En qué las sientes?

[31] There is a satire on these "duos" in *El Licenciado Vidriera*, I, 6, p. 252.

RAMIRO: Traición.
GELOIRA: ¿Hete ofendido yo?
RAMIRO: Afrenta.
GELOIRA: ¿Quieres matarme?
RAMIRO: Dolor.[32]

Even less frequently did Moreto employ the exclamatory parenthetical asides that often mar the dialogue of his great contemporary. Such a fragment as is found in **La fingida Arcadia*[33] (I, 2, p. 538) is for me a strong argument in favor of a collaborating hand:

Cobróle y buscóme, (¡ay cielo!)
que medrosa (¡fuerte lance!)
enojada (¡raro susto!)
me retiré; (¡pena grande!)
y dándome (¡acción valiente!)
mi prenda (¡atención notable!)
desta suerte (¡horror terrible!)
sobre mis brazos se cae.

If Moreto is but rarely declamatory[34] or gongoristic, he is all too frequently conceptistic, and intentionally so as the lines quoted above from *El lindo Don Diego* show. The nobleman should speak with conceits. The modern reader grows weary indeed trying to follow such fine reasoning over love and lovers as is to be found in many of Moreto's comedies. Let the argument between the two brothers of *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* (I, p. 3) serve as an example:

GARCIA: Quien calla amando, no intenta
obligar con el amar:
quien no ama para obligar
los méritos se acrecienta.
Yo, pues, si ahora callando,
merezco en lo que padezco,
no por callarlo merezco,
sino por callar amando.
luego si en mí, de este amor
méritos no diferencio

[32] *Los jueces de Castilla*, II, 14, p. 479.

[33] See discussion of this problem of authorship, p. 131. The only other similar bit of conversation I have noted is found in **La adúltera penitente* (II, p. 15). It is interesting that these are the only two that have ever been attributed to Calderón. See pp. 123–124 of this study.

[34] See in *El Licenciado Vidriera* (I, 5, p. 252) the passage beginning: "Por vos, mi patria dejé." The *gracioso* straightway parodies it.

cuanto merece el silencio
merezco en fe de mi amor.

Consideration for the reader will not permit me to print Sancho's involved answer of twenty lines.[35]

Moreto's gallants ordinarily speak in character. While observing that gravity and decorum which Lope[36] recommends as befitting royal blood, they can at times attain to the realism of a Velázquez. I doubt if a more lifelike picture of court life could be found in the drama of the Golden Age than the argument which takes place in Doña Ana's Academy as to whether or not it is possible to guard a woman against her will (*No puede ser*, I, 2, pp. 188–189). From the standpoint of the modern reader, the courtly conversation of Moreto's characters is often marred by the conceits (at times hackneyed ones) which Mosquito would require of them. These metaphors may be worked out with all detail, and in extreme form, may give rise to those long analyses of which I have just spoken,[37] or they may take the epigrammatic tone of one of Campoamor's "humoradas":

Que quien por un vidrio mira,
que hace algún color distinto,
todo cuanto ve con él
está del color del vidrio[38]

His *graciosos* speak the language of the people.[39] Ordinarily

[35] One might ask if these were early plays of Moreto. Certainly, *El Parecido en la corte* (ordinarily considered a revision of Moreto's earlier play, *El Parecido*) is less given to conceits than the earlier version.

[36] *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, *B.A.E.*, XXXVIII, p. 230.

[37] Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 170) points out as more characteristic of Lope than of Moreto such lengthy and involved metaphors as that of *Industrias contra finezas* (III, 10, p. 285) wherein the protagonist's heart is a "palace with hangings of hope, servants of courtesy," etc. And while I agree with Schaeffer that they are much more common with Lope than with Moreto, they are, nevertheless, to be found elsewhere in our author's theatre. See, for example, that of "love as a storm at sea" in *La fuerza de la ley* (I, 13, p. 87) or that of the lover who likens himself to one ill with the dropsy (*Yo por vos y vos por otro*, I, 1, p. 374). There are others.

[38] *Defensor de su agravio*, II, 8, p. 501.

[39] One comes to expect certain recurring phrases in their dialogue: *Buenas pascuas nos dé Dios; echar por esos trigos; de contento brinco y salto; ni le toca, ni le tañe; no, sino huevos; oís ahí, bergantón; pese a mi linaje; pues yo, pajas; quedar en albis; toca esos huesos.* There are, too, several exclamations which are characteristic: *Alón* (*allons*), *arroga* (=the German *Hopp!* according to Schaefer, *Op. cit.*, p. 175), *sus* (also *pus*), *envidar*, *mámola*, *zapel*

their figures take the shape of pertinent stories or of homely comparisons that are epigrammatic and aphoristic. To illustrate the power of preconceived ideas, Laura quotes this story to her mistress Fenisa:

> Uno que a su dama hablaba
> a escuras, y no la vía,
> mirando por celosía,
> que era tuerta imaginaba.
> Del defecto hizo aprensión,
> y mirándola otro día
> vió que dos ojos tenía
> con hermosa perfección.
> Desagradóle la cosa
> y dijo por el antojo:
> "Si usted se sacara un ojo
> fuera mucho más hermosa."[40]

Concerning adornments of women, Polilla cautions his master:

> Mira, éstas son como el cardo,
> que el hortelano advertido
> le deja las pencas malas,
> que aunque no son de servicio,
> abultan para venderle;
> pero después de vendido
> solo se come el cogollo;
> pues las damas son lo mismo:
> lo que se come es aquesto,
> que el moño y el artificio
> de las faldas son las pencas
> que se echan a los borricos.[41]

And how shall we explain the many follies of the lovesick, asks this same "Galenus of love" (II, 6, p. 11), unless,

> las locuras son
> como un plato de cerezas
> que en tirando de la una
> las otras se van tras ella?

"The hungry man always thinks that his neighbor's plate is better served than his own," says Tortuga (**Hacer remedio el dolor*, II, p. 52a). "He went more quickly than the son-in-law who goes in search of a priest for his wife's mother" (*Amor y obligación*, III, p.

[40] *Lo que puede la aprehensión*, II, 3, p. 175.
[41] *El desdén con el desdén*, II, 9, p. 12.

22), Zancajo assures the Prince. "The heart of a disdainful beauty is like the apple which seems sound on the exterior but which within is worm-eaten" (by jealousy): such is Motril's opinion as expressed to Don Iñigo (*Yo por vos y vos por otro*, III, 7, p. 389). "The kiss is the cheese of the rats of love," Polilla tells Diana in *El desdén con el desdén* (I, 5, p. 5).

The general trend of these figures, which are drawn from the garden, the house, the give-and-take of every-day life,[42] is distinctly sententious in tone and didactic in purpose. They reveal that Moreto was at heart a teacher, and, in the moderation which they encourage, a practical teacher. In them may be seen the common sense of a man of the people. It is this trait of Moreto which often recalls Cervantes to his reader.

In conclusion, the dialogue of Moreto is not lyrical. This is at once evident in the transformation that he has wrought in the plays of Lope. The revision is invariably less poetic than the source: those long lyrics of love, those elaborate and colorful praises of fair women,[43] which Lope's gallants of the court utter with such graceful jauntiness, are gone—their place taken in Moreto by conceptistic analyses of love or by long speeches of expositorial nature; gone also those delicately embroidered pastorals[44] and those magnificent panoramas of country life which Lope so often spread before the eyes of a jaded city audience, to make way for the comic chatter of the omnipresent *gracioso*. If one would realize just what lyrical wealth was Lope's to command and just how slender was the vein of Moreto when put by its side, let him compare the glowing description which the earlier poet paints of Don Tello's possessions in *El rey D. Pedro* (I, 6, p. 595) with the corresponding picture in *El valiente justiciero* (I, 10, p. 335). One comprehends, too, just how keenly alive to the beauties of nature was every sense of Lope's, how much a thing of the intellect was Moreto's appreciation.

With this, I would not say that the latter was completely lacking in the lyrical or that he had no appreciation of nature. But na-

[42] Many are from the card-table; a few, from the chase.

[43] This may be observed in almost any of the comparative studies. Let the length of Carlos' speech in *Mirad a quien alabáis* (I, 4) and that of his counterpart in *Lo que puede la aprehensión* (I, 6) serve as a concrete example.

[44] The changes effected in Lope's *El testimonio vengado* or *El gran Duque de Moscovia y emperador perseguido* illustrate the conscious efforts of Moreto in this regard.

ture, to him, is interesting primarily as a background for and as a reflection of the heart of man. The exquisite soliloquy of the Duke in *El defensor de su agravio* will illustrate perfectly Moreto's point of view. The Duke is contrasting the love which he once felt for his wife with that which he now feels:

Deste jardín las olorosas flores,
cuando a mi esposa en dulce paz lograba,
testigos fueron de la dicha mía;
a imitación aquí de mis amores,
aves, plantas y flores, todo amaba,
todo era tierna unión, todo armonía.
Aquella fuente fría
amores murmuraba,
el céfiro en las hojas suspiraba,
el clavel se encendía
por la encarnada rosa;
la mosqueta olorosa
con el jazmín a olores se entendía;
las blancas azucenas
de amor estaban llenas;
la hiedra, al tierno abrazo,
enmarañaba el lazo
por las ramas del olmo;
y en el copado colmo
ruiseñores suaves,
cantando dulces y sintiendo graves,
huían de los ojos, advertidos,
para dar más amor a los oídos;
todo este bien trocó mi ardiente fuego,
todo lo miro ya como me miro,
yo de aquel tierno amor la paz quebranto;
ya imita mi cruel desasosiego
de aves, plantas y flores el retiro,
todo es ya sentimiento, todo espanto:
La fuente suena a llanto,
y al fuego que respiro
el céfiro por queja da suspiro;
está el clavel sangriento,
la rosa vergonzosa,
la mosqueta olorosa
trueca al jazmín olor por sentimiento;
las blancas azucenas
de desmayo están llenas;
y ya no por abrazo
la hiedra aprieta el lazo,
sino por lucha, al olmo;

y en el frondoso colmo,
tristes los ruiseñores,
cantan endechas, quejas y dolores,
huyendo de los ojos ofendidos,
por tener a la queja más oídos,
y aunque esto advierto y conozco,
no sé qué oculta violencia
a esta locura me arrastra,
en esta pasión me ciega.[45]

Moreto tried to remedy his deficiencies in the lyrical by frequent use of songs and music. Yet, within those very songs are clearly seen his limitations as a lyric poet. They are almost invariably made to serve a dramatic purpose, and as Mr. Morley has pointed out in his careful study of Moreto's versification, they are usually limited to four lines of *romances* or occasionally to a *redondilla*. "In the thirty plays of Moreto, there are but three examples of songs of more than four lines in length."[46] These are, I suppose, *La misma conciencia acusa*, whose version of "Carpe Diem" is made up of two quatrains of six-syllable assonated verses separated by a refrain of two lines; *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, which has a reaper's song in popular form; and *El valiente justiciero*, which contains a strophe composed of five lines of syllables 7,5,7,2,5. Besides these, I have noted in the plays not analysed by Professor Morley:

**La adúltera penitente*, III: Latin songs of 6 and 11 verses.

**El bruto de Babilonia*, I and III: songs of 8 lines, 6 syllables.

†*El Cristo de los Milagros*, I: *quintillas*.

‡*El esclavo de su hijo*, I: antiphonal song of 22 lines.

**Hacer remedio el dolor*, II: song of 8 lines.

Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, I: song of 8 lines.

†*Los más dichosos hermanos*, III: song of 8 lines.

El más ilustre francés, II: song of 8 lines.

**El mejor par de los doce*, I: song of 12 lines, 6 syllables, blank verse.

**Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*, I: song of 7 lines; II and III, songs of 6 lines.

**Oponerse a las estrellas*, II: song of 6 lines; *quintilla*.

†**El Príncipe prodigioso*, I: song of 10 lines, 6 syllables.

[45] *El defensor de su agravio*, II, 7, p. 496.

[46] Morley, S. G., *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

* *Santa Rosa del Perú*, I: songs of 6 and 8 lines in 7-syllable assonants; III, songs of 10 lines, 7 syllables.

‡*Travesuras son valor* (primitive version), I: song of 8 lines.

**La vida y muerte de San Cayetano*, I: song of 8 lines.

It may be pointed out that all of the plays in this list except two are either collaborations or are doubtfully or apochryphally attributed to Moreto.

d. Versification

But this discussion brings one to the question of Moreto's versification. In the brief study which follows, I shall do no more than supplement Mr. Morley's figures and conclusions which were based on the plays of the Fernández-Guerra collection. Only final results are given in the table; I have, however, in arriving at these figures used Mr. Morley's plan, making a detailed study of the metre of each act. The method of count has been the same, too, except that I have included songs in the computation of percentages. This slight departure in method could make no appreciable difference in conclusions. In the case of plays written in collaboration, figures have been given for each act where they seemed significant.

Paralleling Mr. Morley's conclusions, we note that the average length of Moreto's plays is, as has been pointed out, about 2750 lines. There are four which run above the length of *Los jueces de Castilla* (3154), quoted as a maximum: **Oponerse a las estrellas* (3198), *El Parecido* (3246),†*El Eneas de Dios* (3471), ‡*La negra por el honor* (3860). The last-mentioned play would be open to suspicion, if for no other reason, because of its length. Below the minimum of *Las travesuras de Pantoja* (2068), we have ‡*Escarramán* (963), ‡*El esclavo de su hijo* (1853), †*Los hermanos encontrados* (1929), all doubtful or apochryphal plays.

Those which show more than 70% of *romances* are: †*La fortuna merecida* (71%), **Nuestra Señora del Pilar* (72%), *Lo que puede la aprehensión* (74%), **Hacer remedio el dolor* (76%), *No puede ser* (76%), †*El Eneas de Dios* (76%), and **El mejor par de los doce* (79%). Of this group, all are doubtful or written in collaboration except *Lo que puede la aprehensión* and *No puede ser*. The same may be said for all those which fall below 40% of *romances*, with the exception of *La cena de Baltasar* (35%) and *Los jueces de Castilla* (22%). The latter, as Mr. Morley points out (*Op. cit.*, p. 162), seems to represent a special effort on the part of the author. Others

Title	Total number of lines	Percentage of *redondillas*	Verses of *quintillas*	Verses of *decimas*	Percentage of *romances*	Verses of *silvas*	Verses of *pareados*	Verses of *octavas*	Verses of *sonetos*	Miscellaneous	Acts close in:
* Adúltera penitente	2814	18 26 32	130 110	20 139	48 46 47	182 6		40	14	Song: redondilla ..... 4 6-syllable assonants..... 74 Lira: no fixed rhyme..... 30 Assonated songs; Latin chants..... 29	Romances
Amor y obligación	2930	11	130	40	65	468			52	Songs: redondillas and assonants of 4 lines each..... 36	Romances
Antes morir que pecar (not accessible to me)											
* Bruto de Babilonia	2996	 3 70	 60 		92 85 22	71 50 			14	Song: 6-syllable assonants..... 8 Song: repetition of above..... 8 Songs: redondilla and assonants..... 8 Songs: of 2 lines repeated..... 6 Songs: of 8 and 6-syllable assonants .. 20 Prose..... 9 6-syllable assonants..... 28	Romances
†Cautela en la amistad	2410	32	250		46	252					I: Redondilla II: Romance III: Redondilla
Cena del rey Baltasar	2947	36	585 (20%)	40	35	152		64		Assonants of 4 lines each with 6 or 8 syllables..... 20	Romances
‡Dejar un reino por otro	2560	19		300	59		152	96			Romances

Title	Total number of lines	Percentage of *redondillas*	Verses of *quintillas*	Verses of *decimas*	Percentage of *romances*	Verses of *silvas*	Verses of *pareados*	Verses of *octavas*	Verses of *sonetos*	Miscellaneous	Acts close in:
†Eneas de Dios	3471	10	145	90	76	224		16		Assonated songs of 8 syllables in 4 lines. 20	Romances
‡Escarramán	963	30			66			40		Lines of 7-syllables each with rhyme aabbb..... 5 Refrain twice repeated..... 2	Romances
‡Esclavo de su hijo	1853	27	710 (38%)		23			120	28	Antiphonal song of 6-syllable assonants. 22 Lira: aBaBcC..... 36	I: Quintillas II: Quintillas III: Redondillas
Fingir y amar	3020	27	130		65		86	8		Songs: assonants in 4 lines..... 32	Romances
† Fortuna merecida	2612	21		110	71	112					Romances
† Gala del nadar	2528	41		300 (12%)	39	55		80	42	Quintilla de pie quebrado..... 10 Tercetos..... 28	I: Soneto II, III: Romances
‡ Hacer del contrario amigo	2916	39			54	390					Romances
*Hacer remedio el dolor	3061	22 17	35 155	20	77 73 76	22	62			Songs: assonants of 4 lines; redondillas. 16 Songs: assonants of 4 or 8 lines; redondillas..... 40 Songs: assonants of 4 lines; letter..... 19	Romances
Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso	2930	34	75	40	52	90	110	72		Songs: assonants of 4 lines..... 12 Songs: rhymed strophe of 6-syllable line 8	Romances

Title	Total number of lines	Percentage of *redondillas*	Verses of *quintillas*	Verses of *decimas*	Percentage of *romances*	Verses of *silvas*	Verses of *pareados*	Verses of *octavas*	Verses of *sonetos*	Miscellaneous	Acts close in:
† Hermanos encontrados	1929	47		70	33	194		16		Lira: abbacC..... 24 Blank verse..... 25 Refrains..... 6	I: Quintilla II, III: Romances
Más dichosos hermanos	2589	35	100	40	54	44	38			Prose..... 38 Songs of 2 or 9 verses..... 11 Unclassified lines..... 19	Romances
Más ilustre francés	2989	17		80	68	194	42	96	14	Lira: of varying rhyme scheme..... 24 Songs of 4 or 8 lines assonated..... 12	Romances
*Mejor luna africana (not accessible to me)											
*Mejor par de los doce	2885	7	115	40	79	219				Songs: blank verse, 6 syllables..... 24 Lira: ABABCC..... 30 Prose letter..... 11	Romances
‡Negra por el honor	3860	18		342	58	466 (12)%	60			Lira: aBaBcC..... 60	Romances
*No hay reino como el de Dios	2702	21 31	65	30	88 67 56	14	12 78	104		Songs: assonants of 4 lines each..... 12 Assonants of varying syllabic length... 12	Romances
*Nuestra Señora de la Aurora	2773	38		60	58	42				Songs: of 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 verses..... 64	I: Latin song II, III: Romances

Title	Total number of lines	Percentage of *redondillas*	Verses of *quintillas*	Verses of *decimas*	Percentage of *romances*	Verses of *silvas*	Verses of *pareados*	Verses of *octavas*	Verses of *sonetos*	Miscellaneous	Acts close in:
Nuestra Señora del Pilar	2725	29 17 2	10	58	65 76 77	42	8	40		Prose 19 Song: of 5 and 7-syllable verses assonated 4 Lira ABABCC 112 Latin song 3	I, II: Romances III: Latin song
*Oponerse a las estrellas	3198	22	201	150	63	91				Songs: of 2, 5, 6, 8 verses 21	Romances
Parecido	3246	32		40	62	136				Prose letter 8	Romances
*Príncipe perseguido	3103	39	198		48	86	20	72		Prose letter 9	Romances
*†Príncipe prodigioso	2892	52	75	80	36	109		48		Songs: assonated songs of 4 verses 16 Song: 6-syllable assonants of 10 lines 10 Prose 21	Romances
*Rey Don Enrique [Only a mutilated copy accessible.]											
‡Rosario perseguido	2777	61	125	30	29	37				Lira: aBaBcC 18 Prose letter 13 Free-rhyming verse of 8 syllables 76	I: Redondilla II: Free-rhyming 8-syllable verse III: Blank verse
‡San Luis Beltrán	2794	27	1670 (60%)		6			32		Canción of 7 lines 56 Blank verse 96 Tercetos 24 Latin songs 4	I: Quintillas II: Quintillas III: Blank verse

Title	Total number of lines	Percentage of *redondillas*	Verses of *quintillas*	Verses of *decimas*	Percentage of *romances*	Verses of *silvas*	Verses of *parea-dos*	Verses of *octavas*	Verses of *sonetos*	Miscellaneous	Acts close in:
* Santa Rosa del Perú	3149	26		10	61	277				Lira: ABABCC..... 24 Songs: assonants of 4, 6, 8, and 10 lines. 50 Songs: redondillas..... 8	Romances
†Santo Cristo de Cabrilla	2546	29	75	190	51	207				Songs: of 4 lines assonated..... 8 Song: quintilla..... 5	Romances
†Sin honra no hay valentía	2787	42		50	47	138		80		Lira: aBaBcC..... 42	Romances
‡Travesuras son valor[47] (primitive version)	2660	44			37			112		Unclassified lines..... 92 Lira: aABccB..... 126 Lira: abbacC..... 162 Song: assonants..... 8	Romances
*Travesuras son valor (revised)	2809	15	95	50	70	218		56		Songs: assonants of 4 lines..... 12	Romances
Vida de San Alejo	2926	11	325		65	187		14		Songs: of 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 lines..... 55 Canción: 21-line strophe..... 63 Canción: 13-line strophe..... 39	Romances
*Vida y muerte de San Cayetano	3041	29	155	40	62	62				Song: assonated strophe of 8 lines..... 8 Strophe of 4 assonated lines of 7 and 11 syllables..... 20	Romances

[47] The figures given for *Travesuras son valor* (primitive version) are only approximate, for the mutilated copy I have had to use makes accuracy impossible.

falling below 40% which may be classed as doubtful, as apochryphal, or as collaborations are: ‡*San Luis Beltrán* (6%), ‡*El esclavo de su hijo* (23%), ‡*El rosario perseguido* (29%), †*Los hermanos encontrados* (33%), **La confusión de un jardín* (35%), the primitive version of ‡*Travesuras son valor* (37%), and †*La gala de nadar* (39%).

As for those comedies wherein percentages of *redondillas* are above the maximum average of 35% quoted by Mr. Morley, we have: *El valiente justiciero* (36%), **Nuestra Señora de la Aurora* (36%), *Trampa adelante* (36%), **El príncipe perseguido* (39%), †*La gala de nadar* (41%), †*Los hermanos encontrados* (41%), †*Sin honra no hay valentía* (42%), *San Franco de Sena* (42%), the primitive version of ‡*Travesuras son valor* (44%), †*En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza* (48%), **La confusión de un jardín* (50%), †**El príncipe prodigioso* (52%), *Los jueces de Castilla* (67%). All with the exception of *Los jueces de Castilla*, *Trampa adelante*, *San Franco de Sena*, and *El valiente justiciero* are either works written in collaboration or doubtfully attributed.

Below the minimum of 14% *redondillas* quoted by Mr. Morley for *No puede ser*, we note: **El mejor par de los doce*, (7%), †*El Eneas de Dios* (10%), *La vida de San Alejo* (11%), *Amor y obligación* (11%), and **Hacer remedio el dolor* (12%). I consider only *La vida de San Alejo* and *Amor y obligación* as exclusively his.

As having unusually large percentages of *quintillas*, I may mention *La cena del rey Baltasar* (20%), ‡*El esclavo de su hijo* (38%), ‡*San Luis Beltrán* (60%). Only the first mentioned is Moreto's, in my opinion.

Mr. Morley points out that Moreto displays a variety of metre that ranges from four to eight (*Op. cit.*, p. 171), that he uses *estrofas líricas* not infrequently though neither *endechas* (of six or seven syllables) nor blank verse nor the *lira* of form aBaBcC are found in his work (*Op. cit.*, pp. 163, 166). In this statement concerning *endechas*, the eminent critic excludes the six-syllable assonated songs that appear in various plays. Aside from these, I have noted short-line assonants of seven-syllables in *Primero es la honra*, (I, 8, pp. 232–233), of six-syllables in **El bruto de Babilonia* (III, p. 29), ‡*El esclavo de su hijo* (I, pp. 40–41), and **La adúltera penitente* (II, pp. 20–21). Only *Primero es la honra* is, in my opinion, exclusively his.

Blank verse is found in †*Los hermanos encontrados* (III, p. 306) and ‡*San Luis Beltrán*. Neither play is, in Schaeffer's opinion (nor in mine), Moreto's. The same may be said of the four which show examples of the *lira* of form aBaBcC: ‡*El esclavo de su hijo* (II, pp. 53–54), ‡*La negra por el honor* (III, pp. 37–38), ‡*El rosario perseguido* (II, 6), and †*Sin honra no hay valentía* (I, 1). There are three other examples of the *lira* in plays attributed to Moreto: *El más ilustre francés* (II, p. 145, of varying rhyme scheme), **El mejor par de los doce* (III, p. 22, ABABCC), †*Los hermanos encontrados* (I, p. 282, abbacC), but only the first is, in my opinion, rightfully attributed to Moreto.

In many of the *silvas*, *liras* have been incrusted. Those plays which contain the strict aAbBcC type of *silva* (type I according to Mr. Morley's classification, *Op. cit.*, pp. 141–143) are rare. I have noted only ‡*La negra por el honor* (I, p. 4), †*Sin honra no hay valentía* (I, pp. 9–10), †*En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza* (III, 8, p. 635), **La confusión de un jardín* (I, 9, p. 514) and *Cómo se vengan los nobles* (II, 13, p. 437). The first three are, in all probability, not Moreto's; the fourth, in Fernández-Guerra's opinion, is a collaboration; and the last contains only ten lines. Types II, III, and IV occur with sufficient frequence to make them of no interest. There is in the *silva*, as Mr. Morley has pointed out, a tendency toward the long lines joined in couplets and even to strict *pareados de endecasílabas*. One may point out that the *silvas* of the following doubtful plays show an appreciable number of seven-syllable lines: †*El Cristo de los Milagros* (II, pp. 99–102), †*Hacer del contrario amigo* (I, p. 112; II, pp. 123–124; and III, pp. 136–139), †*Los hermanos encontrados* (III, p. 312), ‡*La negra por el honor* (I, pp. 4–5), and †*Sin honra no hay valentía* (I, p. 10; II, pp. 21–22; III, p. 27).

"All of his plays and nearly all of the acts of each, end in *romance*." The exceptions to Mr. Morley's statement (*Op. cit.*, p.163) are as follows:

Caballero (*El*)—Acts I and II: redondilla

†*Cautela en la amistad* (La)—I and III: redondilla

**Confusión de un jardín* (La)—I and II: redondilla

†*Engaños de un engaño* (Los)—II: silva

‡*Escarramán*—I: strophe of 5 lines of 7 syllables each with rhyme aabbb

‡*Esclavo de su hijo* (El)—I and II: quintilla; III: redondilla
**Fingida Arcadia* (La)—II: 8-syllable couplets
**Fuerza del natural* (La)—I: redondilla
†*Gala del nadar* (La)—I: sonnet
†*Hermanos encontrados* (*Los*)—I: quintilla
**Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*—I: redondilla
**Nuestra Señora del Pilar*—III: Latin song
‡*Rosario perseguido* (El)—I and III: redondilla; II, free rhyming 8-syllable verse
‡*San Luis Beltrán*—I and II: quintilla; III: blank verse

Of this group, all except *El Caballero* are either doubtful or written in collaboration. So invariably did Moreto observe this practice of ending his acts in *romances*, that I feel that the closing of Acts I and II in *El Caballero* must be explained by a collaborating hand or else by the shears of the censor.

Mr. Morley also finds that "like Alarcón and unlike Tirso, Moreto never closes a *laisse* of *romances* with a couplet in Italian lines" (*Op. cit.*, p. 163); that our author is given to "incrustation" and that "the interrupting part is usually in *décimas* set in a matrix of *redondillas*" (p. 164); that it is not the common usage of Moreto to change metres within the scene and even more rarely in the midst of a speech (p. 168); that none of Moreto's acts is entirely without *redondillas* (p. 169).

My further study confirms the conclusions of Mr. Morley in every respect except the last. The following plays have acts which contain no *redondillas*: **Hacer remedio el dolor* (III), **El mejor par de los doce* (I), *La vida de San Alejo* (II), **El bruto de Babilonia* (I), and **No hay reino como el de Dios* (I). All of these are collaborations, however, except *La vida de San Alejo*. I am hardly inclined to attach as much importance to the matter of incrustation as Mr. Morley.

There is, on the other hand, another detail which he points out that should, it seems to me, carry much weight. The bringing of two *laisses* of *romances* together is characterized (*Op. cit.*, p. 169) as unknown in Lope, "rare in Tirso," "not common in Alarcón," "slightly more usual in Moreto," and "common enough in Matos Fragoso." I have carefully examined all the places where Mr. Morley has indicated that two such series of *romances* are brought together: †*En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza*, ‡*La ocasión hace al ladrón*, *Industrias contra finezas*, *Lo*

que puede la aprehensión, *Primero es la honra*, and *Las travesuras de Pantoja*. The first two comedies are doubtfully attributed to him; the next three have *laisses* separated by a song; the last gives every evidence of being a youthful effort. Of those plays not examined by Mr. Morley, the following show two or more *laisses* coming together: **El bruto de Babilonia* (Act I), **No hay reino como el de Dios* (I and II), **Nuestra Señora del Pilar* (I), ‡*El rosario perseguido* (III), **Nuestra Señora de la Aurora* (I), † *El Eneas de Dios* (I and II), † *El Santo Cristo de Cabrilla* (III), *El Parecido* (I), †*Los hermanos encontrados* (I), and *El más ilustre francés* (III). In this list, *El Parecido* and *El más ilustre francés* are, in my opinion, the only ones which should carry any weight, and in the later version of the former, *El Parecido en la corte*, Moreto made conscious effort to break up this double *laisse*.

"There are plenty of . . . evidences . . . that Moreto was not a finished versifier despite his small output and his lifting of other men's plots. Frequent faulty rimes indicate that he deserved the epithet of *paresseux* which Fitzmaurice-Kelly bestowed upon him."[48] This is a point which I do not feel that I can discuss without having at hand the original manuscripts and without collating them with the various printed editions.[49] The little I have been able to do in this respect inclines me to believe that the faulty rimes are usually misprints. In this connection one may remember Fernández-Guerra's remarks concerning the edition of 1654: "y está impresa la colección por el *maldito* Diego Díaz de la Carrera, que tal se le llamaba entonces a causa de su desaliño y falta de conciencia artística."[50] The care which Moreto exercised in other matters and the general ease with which he versified make it seem improbable that he should be guilty of faulty rimes.

B. THE SPIRIT OF HIS THEATRE

a. Situations

Moreto's love of decorum and his dislike of the bizarre are evidenced in the situations which he has chosen for stage-representation, and still more in those which he has avoided. The conflict of

[48] Morley, S. G., *Op. cit.*, pp. 165–166.

[49] I have ordered photostats of Moreto's autograph manuscripts, but they have not reached me before this study must go to print.

[50] *B.A.E.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. xiii.

his plays, if we except that of *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, is ever that of young love in its fight for happiness, but there are certain variations of this theme which are conspicuous by their absence. Among these is that wherein the mother occupies the undignified position of rival to her own daughter. It is a situation which Lope used on more than one occasion,[51] but proof that Moreto consciously avoided it may be seen in the transformation of the mother of Lope's *De cuando acá nos vino* to the aunt of *De fuera vendrá*. Rivalry of father and son occurs only in the historical play of *Antíoco y Seleuco*, and here each would renounce his love that the other might find happiness. In reworking Lope's *El testimonio vengado* as *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, Moreto rejects the triangle of father, son, and stepmother.

The theme of the unfaithful wife, recurrent with Lope, is found only once in Moreto's secular theatre. In *La fuerza de la ley* (a historical play), Aurora has been forced by the king to marry Alejandro, although she has from childhood loved (and been loved by) her cousin, the Prince Demetrio. It is worthy of note that even here she is a minor character who stands in contrast to her stronger-willed cousin, Nise, and furthermore that she has sinned in intention only. The situation occurs in **La adúltera penitente*, but this play is a collaboration and the poet was but following the story as outlined in the *Flos Sanctorum*. In Moreto's entire secular theatre, there is likewise no instance of betrayal through force, nor even a frustrated attempt. Yet Lope, Calderón, Tirso, Rojas, and even Alarcón have all employed it.[52] In revising Lope's *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid*—here the peasant girl, Elvira, succumbs to force—Moreto has seen fit that Doña Leonor should voluntarily yield her honor to Don Tello's pledge of matrimony.

The wife who is unjustly accused of disloyalty is, on the other hand, a not uncommon theme,[53] nor is that of the faithless husband. Notable examples of this latter situation are to be found in *Primero es la honra* and *El defensor de su agravio* where in the one

[51] For instances, see *Quien ama no haga fieros* and *De cuando acá nos vino*.

[52] For this situation, see Lope's *El príncipe despeñado*, *La estrella de Sevilla*, and *La fuerza lastimosa;* Tirso's *El burlador de Sevilla;* Alarcón's *Ganar amigos;* Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea* and *El pintor de su deshonra;* Rojas' *Del rey abajo ninguno*.

[53] See *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, *El defensor de su agravio*, †*El Eneas de Dios*, and **No hay reino como el de Dios*.

case the essential fineness of the wife and in the other jealousy of an imaginary rival brings the husband to his senses.

The plight of the young girl who must force a faithless lover to marry her occurs only in the historical drama *El valiente justiciero*, in the subplot of ‡*La negra por el honor*, and in **Hacer remedio el dolor*. It is extremely doubtful that ‡*La negra por el honor* is Moreto's and in the case of **Hacer remedio el dolor*, the heroine's reputation is in no way involved. In his religious theatre, it is found only in †*El Cristo de los Milagros*, which must be classed among his doubtful plays. There are, on the other hand, several instances where fate or misunderstandings have separated two lovers, among others in *El Parecido en la corte* (subplot), *Trampa adelante*, †*La gala de nadar*, and †*Los hermanos encontrados*.

The concomitant of the faithless-lover situation with Lope or Tirso or Calderón is frequently that of the girl who trails her errant lover. She not infrequently takes service with the lady to whom he has transferred his affections (or even with the faithless one himself) in order thereby to keep him under surveillance. The general situation is not unknown in Moreto's theatre, witness **Hacer remedio el dolor* and *El Parecido en la corte*, but in neither situation does the woman dress in man's clothing. Indeed, there are only two[54] of Moreto's secular comedies in which his women don man's apparel. These are *La misma conciencia acusa* and **El mejor par de los doce*, and in both instances the episode is a mere detail. In his religious theatre, the disguise of man's clothing is a fairly common one, occurring in *San Franco de Sena*, **Caer para levantar*, and **La adúltera penitente*. The thought may occur to the reader that Moreto's avoidance of this situation finds explanation in the royal decree of 1646 which forbade actresses to appear in man's clothing.[55] There seems reason to believe, however, that the force of this law lasted for a short time only[56] and that Moreto's custom in the matter sprang from personal disapproval. Certain it is that

[54] In †*Sin honra no hay valentía*, Eugenia dresses as a "letrado" and in ‡*La negra por el honor*, Doña Leonor takes the disguise of man's clothing to save herself from her pursuer, but it seems impossible that either play should be by Moreto. See pp. 171, 148 of this study.

[55] Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 248.

[56] Another law very similar to that of 1646 had to be enacted on January 1, 1653. See Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 250.

other dramatists of the day used this disguise[57] for their characters, apparently without hesitancy.

Equally distasteful to Moreto, if one may judge by his theatre, was the situation wherein the protagonist, torn between love and ambition, courts two ladies at the same time. It is true that Segismundo of *Fingir y amar* and Lisardo of *De fuera vendrá* feign an affection for one girl while loving another, but it is with the consent of their true loves, and the audience is never for a moment in doubt as to the real sentiments of the hero. Such a plot as Tirso's *El castigo del penseque* or Lope's *El perro del hortelano* is unthinkable in Moreto's theatre.

What are the situations which Moreto did favor? First of all there is that of the lady (usually a princess and not infrequently a disdainful one) who must choose between several suitors. In order that her selection may be a wise one, they must undergo certain tests.[58] While it is a theme which occurs in the old fairy tales, and one which was probably utilized by every dramatist of the Golden Age, Moreto has known how to give it unusual variety and charm in the plays **Hacer remedio el dolor*, *El desdén con el desdén*, *El poder de la amistad*, and *Industrias contra finezas*. In other comedies such as *Amor y obligación*, *Fingir y amar*, **La fingida Arcadia*, and **Oponerse a las estrellas*, one finds the same situation, but it cannot be claimed that the poet has attained marked success in developing it. It is interesting that in such contests, the winner, as in the fairy tale, is the poor, though faithful and modest hero. He is, however, always of the same social station as the heroine. There are no *mésalliances* in Moreto's theatre.[59] Duchesses do not contract marriages with their secretaries any more than lords with their servants. The duke of *Lo que puede la aprehensión*, deceived into thinking that Fenisa is his servant, tells her (III, 12, p. 185) that he can offer her the "crown of his heart" but not that of Milan. The rustic Elvira of Lope's *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid* has in Moreto's revision been transformed into Doña Leonor of the house

[57] See Matos' *La ocasión hace al ladrón* of date 1666; Calderón's *Manos blancas no ofenden*, first published in the *Escogidas* of 1657.

[58] It is a situation which had found full flower in Mira de Amescua's *Galán, valiente y discreto*.

[59] †*La cautela en la amistad* could be brought up in refutation of my statement, but it is extremely doubtful that the play is Moreto's.

of Guevara so that Don Tello, haughty descendant of Pelayo, will not be forced to marry a peasant.

This same poor but unassuming hero is, not infrequently, triumphant in another situation, which Moreto, likewise, shares with all the dramatists of the Golden Age: that of the heroine who loves in one direction, but is pledged in another. The ogre of the tale is always the father or brother who, as a devotee to the cult of the pledged word,[60] cannot be persuaded to break his pledge to the unfavored suitor. This tangle is best exemplified in Moreto's theatre in his three plays of intrigue *Trampa adelante*, *El Parecido en la corte*, and *El Caballero*, but it is found also in such comedies as *El lindo Don Diego*, *La misma conciencia acusa*, *La fuerza de la ley*, and others.[61]

Mistaken identity is a never failing dramatic motif in Moreto's theatre. There are comedies in which the protagonist bears such a remarkable resemblance to an absentee that he can usurp the rôle of the latter. This situation, used so happily in *El Parecido en la corte*, is found also in **No hay reino como el de Dios*. There are fairy tales, too, wherein the noble young protagonist, who has been reared in comparative obscurity, turns out to be the son of the king. Such is the good fortune of Ramiro (*Cómo se vengan los nobles*), of Carlos (**La fuerza del natural*), of Sancho (*Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*), and of Lidoro (*Amor y obligación*). In still other cases, as in *Los jueces de Castilla* and **El príncipe perseguido*, royal protagonists (their throne usurped) have chosen to lead the simple life of peasants. These are, of course, conventional situations which had been used many times by Lope and his school. The same may be said for the balcony scene wherein the rival under cover of night usurps the conversational favors intended for another; or for the situation of a king, who in the disguise of a courtier, seeks to ascertain the loyalty of his subjects, etc.

[60] Moreto's fathers are seldom moved by mercenary reasons, though there are exceptions such as Pompeyo in *El Licenciado Vidriera*.

[61] In the development of plays such as these, there is the usual confusion arising from a mixup of letters or photographs, from ambiguous phrases ill understood, from veiled ladies and muffled gentlemen. However, Moreto did not abuse the use of disguise, as did Calderón, and, moreover, he invariably showed delicacy and good taste when he had occasion to employ it. On the other hand he unquestionably overworked eavesdropping as a device in the plays, *El mejor amigo el rey* and *El Caballero*.

The old conflict of love and honor ordinarily takes with Moreto the conventional forms of the day. The protagonist's love is at times pitted against his respect for his sovereign. Alejandro (*El defensor de su agravio*) would renounce his dreams of Nisea when he discovers that it is she for whom his sovereign sighs.[62] Carlos (*Lo que puede la aprehensión*), Enrique (*La misma conciencia*), and Alejandro (*La fuerza de la ley*) must all struggle against their monarchical ideals. Occasionally, this conflict of love and honor takes the form of the conventional triangle of Calderón. In *La fuerza de la ley*, Alejandro kills his faithless wife, Aurora; the king of *El defensor de su agravio* is torn between his desire to believe in his wife's innocence and his desire to avenge his honor; and the ruler of Sicily (†*El Eneas de Dios*) is as unreasonable as any Calderonian character in his desire to remove an imaginary blot from the scutcheon. In *Primero es la honra*, the situation is that of Appius Claudius and Virginia: the Almirante draws his sword against his innocent daughter because he can see no other way to save her from the passion of the king.

Yet, comparatively speaking, Moreto has probably made less use of the *pundonor* as a dramatic motif than any of the major dramatists of the Golden Age. In reworking Lope's *El testimonio vengado*, he rejected it as a spring of action for both Ramiro and Sancho. Indeed, Aurora (*La fuerza de la ley*) is the only feminine character in all of his theatre who falls by the sword of her lord, and here as elsewhere, the husband ascertains the facts and weighs the evidence before giving vent to his wrath. If one excepts the doubtful play, †*El Eneas de Dios*, Moreto's heroes do not act on mere suspicion. In *No puede ser*, extremes of jealousy are painted as ridiculous. ‡*Escarramán* is a burlesque on the honor-mad brother with his punctilious ideas of honor, but I do not consider it Moreto's.

These are the subjects which Moreto used to hold his audience. As the reader will see, there is in them nothing new in the way of dramatic situations nor of devices which could aid in their resolu-

[62] Nevertheless, proof that Moreto did not approve of his protagonist's choice may be found in Nisea's words (I, 6, p. 495):

ALEJANDRO: ¿Qué pude yo hacer conmigo?
NISEA: Ser vos; que en vos es primero
la deuda de caballero
que la obligación de amigo.
¿Vos prometéis tal bajeza?

tion. But this brings one to a discussion of the dramatist's plagiaristic policy.

I have pointed out in the first chapter of this study[63] the various explanations which have been given for Moreto's practice: (1) theatrical conditions and dramatic customs of the day; (2) lack of creative talent; (3) an instinct for perfection that led the dramatist to revise rather than create; (4) a certain dilettantism that found it easier to take the plots of others than to create them for himself. It is not impossible that all four suggestions hit the mark; I am inclined to think, however, that the first three will explain the situation.

The unfavorable theatrical conditions of 1640–1650 must have affected Moreto in a measure.[64] The decree against Lope's comedies and against plays "of the author's own invention," no doubt, led enterprising producers to demand revisions of the old comedies, and Moreto did not hesitate to accept the situation. One who appreciated the talent of Lope, as Moreto so evidently did, would probably consider it a meritorious thing to keep these earlier plays alive on the stage by adapting them to the tastes of the day. I am inclined to believe also that some of the poet's historical comedies and perhaps, too, some of those of hagiographical nature must find their explanation in the *aviso* against all plays "except histories or lives of saints." Certainly Moreto was sufficiently conscious as an artist to know that he was helpless before the restrictions of the historical narrative or the improbabilities of the religious chronicle.

I agree with Menéndez y Pelayo that Moreto had the "instinct for perfection." It is an instinct, however, which is more nearly allied to the laborious art of the reviser than to the spontaneous imagination of the creator, though the truism remains that it is not always an easy task to draw the line between imagination and memory or to decide what should be labelled original and what imitation. Moreto could on occasion so fuse the materials of memory as to create a masterpiece—*El desdén con el desdén* is proof of that. Moreover, he could construct (from virtually whole cloth) a comedy of intrigue that rivals the best of Tirso or Calderón—witness *El Parecido en la corte*.[65] Yet it would be difficult to bring for-

[63] See pp. 29–30 of this study.

[64] See p. 25, *note*, for a brief summary of these conditions.

[65] It should be remembered also that no source has been found for *Trampa adelante* or *El Caballero*.

ward ten scenes from Moreto's entire output that give proof of any great creative ability on his part. There are those in Lope de Vega's theatre which refuse to be forgotten, little gems which for their freshness and vigor find no equal in our poet's works, but alas only too often their setting is unworthy. The reverse is true in Moreto's theatre: the stone is seldom of startling beauty, either for its novelty or its perfection, but its setting is almost invariably adequate. One has at times developed the part at the expense of the whole; the other, the whole at the expense of the part. The one is a vagabond art which is rarely concerned with its own destination, one in which the author's inspiration of the moment is its only guide. Of such an art, it is as useless to ask consistency as it is the observance of the unities, and these, as Mr. Schevill points out in his admirable study of the art of Lope de Vega, were "*rarae aves* which never lodged on Lope's branches."[66] Moreto's is, on the other hand, a thoroughly conscious one,—one which, after excluding all that is extraneous, carefully marshalls its materials and with consummate stagecraft directs them to an appointed end.

b. Characters

That same love of harmony and decorum which is to be seen illustrated in Moreto's versification and dialogue, as well as in his choice of situations and his development of plot, may be observed even more clearly in his characterization. The cast, which is ordinarily reduced to a minimum, invariably includes six characters: the hero and his servant (the *gracioso*), the heroine and her maid, a second gallant and a second lady. Not infrequently, in addition to these, the plot calls for an old man (usually father to the heroine), and one, two, or more gallants besides those already specified. The innumerable courtiers that surround the main characters in Lope de Vega's plays are lacking in Moreto's. Comparative studies of the two men show that the later dramatist invariably eliminated some of Lope's *dramatis personae;* in the revision of *El gran Duque de Moscovia y emperador perseguido*, nineteen were excluded; in that of *No puede ser*, a king and his retinue.

Nowhere is there a greater contrast in the art of these two men than in some of their male protagonists. Those of the earlier drama-

[66] R. Schevill, *The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega*, p. 10.

tist offer infinite variety and many of them are delightful; but there are others who shock the sensibilities of modern readers by actions that are both inconsistent and in violent contrast to what we expect from the hero of romance. These are either mercenary in their intentions,[67] or they are swayed more by their desire for social and political preferment[68] than by sincere affection for the heroine. There is, on their part, a stress on money and on wordly ambition which is perhaps in a measure a reflection of the disappointed social aspirations of the author; and, like their creator, they are at times capable of abject fawning, of insufferable boasting, or of direst cruelty. On the other hand, they are on occasion equally capable of great generosity, both spiritual and financial. And their physical valor cannot be questioned. They are creatures of emotion who are at once a projection of the virtues and vices of the author's character in all of its strange duality.[69]

Moreto's protagonist is, on the other hand, the courteous gentleman whose morals are as irreproachable as his manners, regardless of the rôle he may play. He is loyal to his friends, faithful to his monarch, unswerving in his devotion to his lady. If the dramatist ever felt the strong pricks of wordly ambition, his heroes in no way give evidence of that desire. There is in them a singleness of aim, a lack of strife which seems a reflection of an existence unharried by emotional conflicts, by financial worries, or by dreams of social success. They, too, are valiant and generous in spirit, but without the tendency to vainglory or the love of the limelight that characterize Lope's valiants. They can fight when occasion demands it, but such a *matamoros* as Horacio of *El honrado hermano* (Lope) is unthinkable as a hero in Moreto's theatre.

On the other hand, they have a quiet dignity which proclaims their spiritual independence, one which is ordinarily evidenced even in the protagonist's rôle of lover. In the conflict which arises between his spiritual independence on the one hand and his generous desire to give all to the object of his love on the other hand,

[67] See Laurencio of *La dama boba;* Leonardo of *De cuando acá nos vino;* Fernando of *La Dorotea*, Ricardo of *El perro del hortelano.*

[68] Cf. César in *Mirad a quien alabáis* (Lope) with his counterpart, Carlos, in *Lo que puede la aprehensión.*

[69] For a striking analysis of Lope's "disconcerting moral personality," see Señor Romera-Navarro's *Historia de la literatura española*, Heath and Co., N. Y., 1928, p. 306.

I am inclined to find partial explanation of Moreto's predilection for the theme of disdain. Alejandro (*El poder de la amistad*) has risked his life and wasted his fortune in an attempt to please Margarita, but he has succeeded only in boring her. Only when his dignity and independence assert themselves does he interest. Carlos (*El desdén con el desdén*) is shrewd enough to see that he can never break down the wall of Diana's indifference by humble submission. Casandra (**Hacer remedio el dolor*) even finds some justification for her lover's fickleness in that she had merited his disdain by having too readily granted her favors and even more by her complaints, for

> . . . es sacrificio amar,
> y en mandándole que quiera
> no puede haber sacrificio
> donde se pide obediencia.[70]

Carlos will not have his independence of soul shackled even by love. But the psychology of love and disdain forms such a complex subject in Moreto's theatre that it must be reserved for more complete analysis under the heading of ideas.[71]

Even though Moreto's heroes display dignity in their love affairs, yet "amor omnia vincit" is the banner under which all of them march to victory. Poor they may be, as I have had occasion to note in another connection, but the motives which actuate their love are never unworthy, and if we except Carlos (**Hacer remedio el dolor*), whose disloyalty is occasioned by satiety, there are no gay deceivers, no philanderers in Moreto's secular theatre. In the study of his sources one sees repeatedly that the playwright felt it necessary to transform Lope's or Tirso's mercenary and ambitious protagonists into paragons of undesigning loyalty. A comparison of Sancho (*Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*) and Felix (*No puede ser*) with the prototypes of their sources[72] will show Moreto's conscious efforts in this regard. Moreover, the Don Rodrigo of *El castigo del penseque* or the Ricardo of *El perro del hortelano* who would, in a moment, cast aside their true loves in order to accept the favors of capricious noblewomen: these are characters who could find no place in Moreto's calendar of the faithful.

[70] *Hacer remedio el dolor*, I, p. 37.
[71] See pp. 110–111 of this study.
[72] See comparative studies, pp. 174, 188.

This attitude on the part of his heroes is, I feel, more than a convention. It is a reflection of Moreto's deeply ingrained respect for womanhood, a respect which finds perfect expression in †*La gala de nadar* (II, p. 174), if that play be the work of our dramatist:

RUGERO: A las mujeres, señor,
terrible cosa es mandarlas
que contra su honor se rindan.
RICARDO: ¿Qué importa, siendo villana?
¿Qué gran señora conquisto?
RUGERO: O sean altas o sean bajas,
desde que tuve discurso
me precio de respetarlas.

And finally, Moreto's hero is "discreto." The term implies more, however, than the English cognate of "circumspect," for it includes a thorough acquaintance and compliance with the proprieties of the Court as well as a nimbleness of wit which would enable him to make a creditable showing in the mental gymnastics that characterized the academies of the day. In a word, he must be the polished gentleman. Nowhere is this stress on the courtly more clearly seen than in the contrast of the "discreet" Carlos and the boorish Julio of **La fuerza del natural.*

And nowhere is Moreto's ideal protagonist better summed up than in the conversation between Margarita and Luciano of *El poder de la amistad.* In answer to the lady's query, "¿qué tiene ese hombre de bueno?" Luciano answers:

No tener nada de malo.
¿No es en sus galanterías
discreto sin presunción,
galán sin afectación,
cortesano sin porfías,
liberal sin vanidad,
pues lograr sabe esta gloria,
sin que sepa la memoria
lo que da la voluntad?
¿no usa prudencia y virtud,
sin ser sufrido su aliento?
que hay caso en que el sufrimiento
hace infame la virtud.
¿No tiene en su cortesía
mesura sin gravedad,
agrado sin humildad,
llaneza con bizarría?
¿Todos por esto a su nombre

mil aplausos no le dan?
Pues para ser buen galán
¿qué ha menester más un hombre?[73]

He is above all, then, a temperate hero who is a product of reason, —one who is not far from the idealized "decent chap" of the past century, so dear to the hearts of Victorian readers.

It might be concluded from the generalities of the above paragraphs that Moreto's male characters, though consistent, are lacking in variety and virility; that they are all cut from the same cloth, and that the dramatist has not troubled himself to vary the pattern. And, indeed, the virtuous hero, as outlined above, is not often lacking in a comedy of Moreto; the playwright has even recast Lope's epic figures in this mould: the changes of characterization effected in Reinaldos (*Las pobrezas de Reinaldos*) and Segismundo (*El príncipe prodigioso transilvano*) show this. There are others, however, who, if of inferior virtue, are of superior interest. Such are Don Diego of *El lindo Don Diego*, Carlos of *El desdén con el desdén*, the King of Sicily in *Primero es la honra*,[74] and the Alférez of *De fuera vendrá*—characters which I shall outline in some detail as among the best portraits of Moreto's theatre.

The protagonist of *El lindo Don Diego* is a *figurón*, a caricature painted with such bold strokes and in such vivid colors that he fills the center of the picture and throws into shadow every other character in the play. He is the personification of but a single quality: human vanity. With him, self is a cult, and with all the zeal of a religious fanatic he interprets the world around him in terms of his own faith, indeed adjusts the world to that faith. It is unbelievable that others should deny his god; hence his unwavering conviction that every women is smitten with his charms the moment she is permitted to gaze upon his god-like figure. He is miserly in dealing with others but extravagance itself in all that concerns the object of his adoration. It worries him not at all that in making his toilette he has missed mass; indeed, in so carefully dressing himself, he has already made his devotions. When Don Mendo remonstrates with him over the undue importance that he attaches to dress and the bad taste he exhibits in praising himself, Don Diego exclaims:

[73] *El poder de la amistad*, II, 2, p. 27.

[74] I have omitted Don Pedro of *El valiente justiciero* because Moreto has changed the characterization so little that the figure is essentially Lope's.

. . . si veis la perfección
que Dios me dió sin tramoya,
¿queréis que trate esta joya
con menos estimación?
¿Veis este cuidado vos?
pues es virtud más que aseo
porque siempre que me veo
me admiro y alabo a Dios.[75]

He is as Mohammed to Allah.

Carlos (of *El desdén con el desdén*) is an engaging young egoist who has had everything in this world for the asking and is consequently attracted only by that which resists his possession. Fresh from the victories of war, he is induced by his curiosity to enter the tourneys and jousts which the suitors of the disdainful Diana have initiated to win her favor. His first impression of the princess was not a favorable one: "her beauty was of the modest variety; she was in fact a bit lifeless." When, however, she displays no interest whatever in the victories that he wins over the other competitors, his conceit is pricked, his sense of conquest stimulated, and, ultimately, his passion aroused. It is a humiliating experience for one who prides himself on his rationality; as he confides to Polilla:

Yo mismo soy de las iras
de mi dolor alimento;
mi pena se hace a sí misma,
porque más que mi deseo
es rayo que me fulmina,
aunque es tan digna la causa,
el ser la razón indigna;
pues mi ciega voluntad
se lleva y se precipita
del rigor, de la crueldad,
del desdén, la tiranía;
y muero, más que de amor,
de ver que a tanta desdicha,
quien no pudo como hermosa,
me arrastrase como esquiva.[76]

He retains, then, sufficient sense of justice to rage at his own inconsistency and sufficient clarity of vision to analyse his predicament, to plan his method of attack, and to execute his plans with the energy and precision of a well-trained officer. Carlos is, as one

[75] *El lindo Don Diego*, I, 8, p. 354.
[76] *El desdén con el desdén*, I, 1, p. 2.

can see, an essentially cerebral character, and if Diana manages to hold his interest and affection, it will be because she, too, is an intellectualist who is clever enough never to give herself completely to him,—to outwit him at his own game.

The king of *Primero es la honra*, who bears a marked resemblance to the Duke of Athens of *El defensor de su agravio* in both temperament and rôle, has transferred his affections from a wholly admirable wife to Porcia, daughter of the man to whom he owes the throne and fiancée of his most loyal courtier, Federico. In his portrayal of the conflict of love and loyalty which Federico suffers, Moreto has been entirely conventional, but in his characterization of the king and queen he has attained a sincerity of emotion and a depth of pathos (accompanied by a beautiful restraint) that make the conventionalized happy ending all the more unpardonable. The king remains, in spite of the suffering which he brings to both Porcia and the queen, a sympathetic character. Caught up in the whirlwind of passion, he is the plaything of a force against which he is a helpless child. He tells the Almirante, Porcia's father:

> Yo estoy sin mí, yo no mando
> mi razón, yo no la rijo;
> poder superior me arrastra,
> sin ser dueño de mí mismo.
> Yo perdí el entendimiento
> y a mi voluntad me rindo;
> y mirad si estoy sin mí,
> pues esto a vos os he dicho.[77]

And when he would explain to the queen his desire to avoid her, his sincerity and frankness compel our understanding:

> Señora, mi sentimiento
> al veros no es adversión
> que os tengo, sino pesar
> de ver mi delito yo,
> debiéndoos tantas finezas
> como reconozco en vos.
> El verme ingrato me obliga
> a que os mire con horror;
> ni el serlo ni el enmendarlo
> está en mi mano, pues son
> acciones de un albedrío

[77] *Primero es la honra*, I, 10, p. 234.

sin quien padeciendo estoy.
. . . . . .
Hago testigo a los cielos
que, conociendo mi error,
hasta romper las cadenas
ha probado la razón.
Mas yo no puedo, yo muero
. . . . . .
que ya soy . . . Pero tampoco
sé yo de mí lo que soy,
ni que hay en mí. Finalmente,
es tanta mi confusión,
que si algo sé cierto es sólo
que no sé entenderme yo.[78]

Finally, his pride and his appreciation of the noble generosity of his wife come to his aid:

¿Yo no he de poder vencerme,
y ella sí?[79]

The colors for Moreto's pallet from which he drew the Alférez of *De fuera vendrá* are all to be found in Lope de Vega's Beltrán (*De cuando acá nos vino*): his predilection for serving maids, his appreciation of the physical comforts of life, his not too active conscience, his love of gambling. But in the original the outlines are dim, and the harshness of Beltrán's gross materialism is unrelieved by the keen wit that redeems Moreto's character. With the later dramatist, his rôle is that of the Greek chorus. His daily amusement is to stand on the steps of San Felipe and compete with the town's most adept liars:

Aquí del Rey saben más que en Palacio
. . . . . .
Aquí está el Archiduque más que en Flandes
aquí hacen todos títulos y grandes;
ver y oír esto, amigo, es mi deseo,
mi comedia, mi Prado y mi paseo;
que aquí solo estoy triste cuando hallo
quien mienta más que yo sin estudiallo.[80]

He is the commentator, then, the onlooker of life who is perfectly content to stay on the outskirts and watch humanity perform, an-

[78] *Primero es la honra*, III, 1, p. 242.
[79] *Op. cit.*, III, 16, p. 247.
[80] *De fuera vendrá*, I, 1, p. 57.

gry only when he pays more for his seat than it proves to be worth. Hence his wrath when he loses heavily at cards; hence his preference for serving maids. Ladies? No, they cost too much! As he tells Lisardo:

> . . . hermano mío
> no enamoro princesas; mi terrero
> hago en tiendas, plazuelas o en el río,
> donde hallo proporción a mi dinero;
> porque la más hermosa y entonada
> no pide más que aloja o limonada.
> Vos habláis damas de tan alta esfera
> que la tercera palabra es la pollera.[81]

And no women should be taken too seriously! What a fool Lisardo is to worry over a love affair!

> ¡Que no sepa un majadero
> querer con comodidad
> como yo! No sé qué tengo
> que si cada tercer día
> no me mudo y me renuevo;
> el amor y la camisa
> se me ensucian al momento.[82]

He feels strongly only on the subject of "dueñas." They do not even fall within the classification of women! Imagine, then, his protest when Lisardo asks him to make love to Doña Cecilia:

> ¡Vive Cristo, que primero
> me eche por una ventana!
> ¿no sabéis que yo a una dueña
> no la tengo por mujer?[83]

And his head remains unbowed to the end! His joys in the weddings that close the play will, as he tells the audience, be gastronomic.

Moreto's *graciosos* are among the best of the Golden Age. They have justly commanded the admiration of the critics, not only because of the skill which the author has exhibited in making them serve a dramatic purpose in the play as a whole, but also because of the "plenitude of comic force" which they represent. In reworking earlier plays, it is evident that he made conscious effort to develop this force. *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, *El mejor amigo el rey*, *No puede ser*, *El lindo Don Diego*,

[81] *Op. cit.*, I, 1, p. 57.
[82] *Op. cit.*, II, 3, pp. 65–66.
[83] *Op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 64.

**El mejor par de los doce*, *†*El príncipe prodigioso*, all show an increase of the comic when compared with their sources.

There are at least two clearly defined types of the *gracioso* in Moreto's theatre: the clever Plautean type who directs in part or in whole the fortunes of his master, and the rustic Sancho type, who is the inseparable companion of the protagonist. The one is a product of the city and its trickery; the other is rooted in the soil and simplicity of the country village. The one is given to Latin phrases and constant punning; the other to colloquial pronunciations and to felicitous malapropisms of speech. The one secretly rejoices in an intellectual power which enables him to direct the destinies of those who are his social superiors; the other plumes himself on an importance in this world which he in no wise possesses. The one is frequently satiric at the expense of humanity in general and of lovers in particular;[84] the other knows little of people and is, in some instances, at the mercy of a capricious young serving girl. The one annoys his master with his impudent manners, his grasping ways, his opportunistic philosophy; the other, by his rusticity and extreme stupidity.

One or the other type may be a coward or a glutton, whose thoughts do not rise above food and the wine bottle. Either may enjoy the gaming table. Either may coin verbs out of proper names, may possess (usually does possess) a fund of homely metaphors and pertinent stories which are ordinarily in good taste. Like the *graciosos* of his religious comedies, either type may have an inexhaustible store of saint's names on which he may call in moments of stress. Finally, both are, as a rule, loyal.

As best representatives of the clever group, one may name: Millán and Tacón, whose empty stomachs lead them to assume the rôle of master of ceremonies in *Trampa adelante* and *El Parecido en la corte* and thereby bring the love affairs of the protagonists to imminent shipwreck; Polilla, who, as a "moth," works his way into the confidence of the haughty Diana and as a "doctor of love" succeeds in curing that young lady of her disdain toward Carlos; Moclín of *El poder de la amistad*, who shares with Polilla a philoso-

[84] For Polilla of *El desdén con el desdén*, love is a "sarna insana" (I, 5, p. 4), a

> . . . quita-razón,
> quita-sueño, quita-bien,
> quita-pelillos también,
> que hará calvo a un motilón.

phy of "treat-'em-rough" and who demonstrates to his master the practicality of that philosophy by bringing the maid of the heroine to abject slavery; Tarugo (*No puede ser*), Mosquito (*El lindo Don Diego*), and Motril (*Yo por vos y vos por otro*), who are equally indispensable in untying the love tangles of their respective masters. These have given us the composite picture sketched above; they are, however, at the same time individualized characters who offer great variety among themselves.

It is this clever *gracioso* that is ordinarily considered typical of Moreto, the one which leads Fernández-Guerra to compare *Trampa adelante* to a play of Terence.[85] Nevertheless, the dramatist has rare success with the contrasting type in such characters as Bato of *La cena del rey Baltasar*, Tirso of *La misma conciencia acusa*, and Chichón of *De fuera vendrá*. Sancho of *No puede ser*, Julio of **La fuerza del natural*, Buscón of *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, and Gerundio of *El Licenciado Vidriera* offer deviations or variations from the same general type.

Chichón is one of the most delightful *graciosos* I have met in the comedy of the Golden Age. Of "mountain" stock, it goes without saying that he is a hidalgo who takes great pride in his ancestry:

> Que soy yo de la Montaña
> el gran Chichón de Barrientos,
> más antiguo que la sarna.[86]

Accompanying this pride in his ancestry is that in his "virtue." This "grandson of Laín Laínez, great grandson of Sancho Sánchez, and great-great grandson of Méndez Mendo" has taken the vows of "bestial virginity" and when Doña Cecilia applies to him the term, "go-between," his indignation knows no bounds. By another felicitous confusion of vocabulary on Chichón's part, a "notario" becomes a "perdulario," a "voltario" and an "almario" in turn. Indeed, the Alférez is entirely justified in describing him as

> . . . un montañés más simple
> que Pero Grullo y Panarra.[87]

The women servants of the theatre of the Golden Age must serve as confidants and advisers, and in that rôle they can be faith-

[85] *Op. cit.*, p. xxii. Gracián had already used the phrase in El *criticón*, as we have seen.

[86] *De fuera vendrá*, I, 5, p. 61.

[87] *Op. cit.*, I, 2, p. 59.

ful or disloyal, romantic or cynical, moral or otherwise. Inés (in *El Caballero*) is blood kin to Millán (*Trampa adelante*) in that her avarice furnishes the key to the whole situation. Flora, Irene, and Celia, the *graciosas* in **Hacer remedio el dolor*, *El poder de la amistad*, and *Industrias contra finezas*, retain no illusions concerning men. Into the mouth of Irene of *La fuerza de la ley*, Moreto has put a speech that could serve as inspiration to Goya. She is comforting her mistress, Aurora, who has, against her will, been married to Alejandro:

¡Ay, señora! Esa pasión
tendrá remedio, si quieres;
de las comunes mujeres
aprende aquesta lición.
Mujeres hay de tal masa
que les diera con cadena
menos susto un alma en pena
que su esposo entrando en casa;
. . . . . .
Más remedios no han fingido
las viejas para la cara
que ella al venir tiene para
las caras de su marido.
Si es triste, dice: "Qué tienes,
dueño mío? ¿qué dolor,
pues no te alegra mi amor?
¡Ay, Dios, qué triste que vienes!
Hijo mío, así no estés,
mira que me das pesar;"
y si le viera ahorcar,
le tirara de los pies.
Si le ve venir severo,
dice: "Bien mío, ¿tú airado?
no quiero estés enojado;
templa ese enojo cruel."
Y al cuello le echa los brazos,
y para apretar los lazos,
imagina que es cordel.[88]

On the contrary, Sol of *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, Lucinda of *Fingir y amar*, and Leonor, of *El Parecido en la corte* are born sentimentalists. Among those whose moral codes could hardly be called impeccable, one may mention Celia of *El Licenciado Vidriera*, Lesbia of *San Franco de Sena*, and Elvira of *Los jueces de Castilla*.

[88] *La fuerza de la ley*, II, 1, p. 88.

"Recato," "decoro," "respeto," "discreción": these are terms which are as indispensable in the portrayal of Moreto's heroine as is "brío" in the description of Lope's. She is, in every way, a fit mate for the "decent chap" of the Victorian era. In the comparative studies, one may see that the playwright felt it incumbent on him to transform the animated, and at times flamboyant, heroines of his sources to characters of reserve and dignity.[89] The notable exception to this statement is Doña Francisca of *De fuera vendrá;* the nature of the thesis, however, easily accounts for Moreto's departure from his usual practice.

We have also seen how this same ideal has led him to avoid certain situations, such as that of the rivalry of mother and daughter, the triangle of the unfaithful wife, the heroine in search of a faithless lover and the concomitant disguise of man's clothing which Tirso's heroines so often affect. We shall see how Moreto's women exhibit this decorum in every relationship of life: as sweetheart or wife, as daughter or sister, even as feminine rivals. Indeed, this sense of the proprieties is so fundamental with the female protagonists of his theatre that I am inclined to call into question any play wherein the heroine does not exhibit it.

It is not primarily a conventional code enforced from without; it is personal. It is a decorum which has its root in that same innate dignity and self-respect which explain the ideals and actions of his male protagonists. Its essential premises are that man is master of his fate and that to command the respect of others, he must first command his own. Humanity then must be decent. Reason must prevail over emotion; decorum over love. Astrea, faced with this choice, asks herself:

> . . . pero ¿cómo al sentimiento
> rindo mi entendimiento?
> ¿no soy yo más que todas mis pasiones?
> ¿yo mis obligaciones
> por un dolor olvido?
> ¡Arrastre mi razón a mi sentido![90]

Inés confesses that the discretion of Don Fernando has attracted her, but

[89] Such are Rosaura of *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, Inés of *El Parecido en la corte*, Susana of **El bruto de Babilonia*, and Margarita of *La misma conciencia acusa*.

[90] *Amor y obligación*, III, p. 30.

En la que su honor prefiere
a su deseo, este amor
ha de ser, como la flor,
que en un día nace y muere.[91]

Moreto's heroine is, consequently, most circumspect in her relationship with her lover. Of the battle she is waging in her heart, he usually knows nothing. Indeed, she hardly admits it to herself. Porcia tells her maid:

que pasiones del deseo
en mujeres como yo
se criaron para el pecho,
y cuando para mi vida
sólo esto fuera el remedio,
antes que mi vida es
mi pundonor lo primero.[92]

Her conduct is ordinarily irreproachable: she discourages serenades at her window; she does not encourage conversation at the church door with gallants whom she does not know—much less make secret appointments with them or accept gifts from their hands;[93] she is seldom found in the apartments of her lover, and he even less frequently in hers. If either situation occurs, she is always his pledged wife. 'Her honor comes before life itself.'

With Moreto's women, this circumspection is often carried to the extremes of disdain, and in this form it is difficult to say what are the proportions of dignity and vanity that actuate the heroine in her treatment of her lover. She is convinced that favors too easily won mean loss of dignity on her part as well as loss of interest on his.

. . . si no le tratan mal
no hay hombre que quiera bien.[94]

[91] *El Parecido en la corte*, I, 9, p. 316. Leonor's answer to these elevated sentiments shows the contrast which is often typical of Moreto's *graciosas:*

Yo también mi honor prefiero,
y muere también mi amor
en un día como la flor;
pero la huelo primero.

[92] *La fingida Arcadia*, II, 3, p. 545.

[93] Moreto's women are never mercenary in their relationship with men. They marry for love and ask only that love to be happy. See *De fuera vendrá*, II, 14, p. 71.

[94] *La gala del nadar*, I, p. 174.

Humanity is so perverse as to want only that which it has not; many characters of Moreto illustrate this thesis. And yet, as Martinenche[95] has pointed out, woman's beauty is her honor, and any insult to that beauty must be avenged. It is the vanity of Diana (*El desdén con el desdén*) which leaves her a prisoner in the trap of love; the wounded pride of Casandra (**Hacer remedio el dolor*) which spurs her on in her determination to win back her ungrateful lover. Fenisa, hurt by the lack of appreciation which the duke shows for her charms, concludes that:

> Las damas con su hermosura
> han de tener el estilo
> que los hombres con la honra,
> que probarla es desatino.[96]

Because she is the mirror of decorum in her actions, she resents interference from without. If she is to preserve the dignity which arises from the right of choice, she must zealously guard that right. Denied the privilege in *De fuera vendrá* and *No puede ser*, she openly rebels. Inés of the latter play tells Manuela:

> La mujer es como el vidrio,
> que el que le quiere guardar
> le ha de poner en seguro;
> mas si por guardarle más,
> desconfiado del riesgo,
> entre las manos le trae,
> con lo que guardarle piensa
> suele venirle a quebrar.
> . . . . . .
> No hay mujer tan necia a quien
> el más discreto y sagaz,
> si ella no quiere guardarse,
> piense que la ha de guardar.
> Y es fuero de nuestro honor,
> porque si fuera verdad
> que el hombre guardarla puede,
> aunque le intente agraviar,
> consistiendo esto en el dueño,
> a quien sujetas están,
> ni en la honrada hubiera honor,
> ni en la libre liviandad.
> Y mi hermano ha de saber

[95] Martinenche, Ernest, *La comédie espagnole en France*, Paris, 1900, p. 103.
[96] *Lo que puede la aprehensión*, I, 1, p. 168.

que esto en mi elección está,
y no ha de ser acción suya
la que fué mía no más.
Manuela, no hay que perder
ocasión; que en esto va
la opinión de las mujeres.[97]

Nevertheless, Inés is circumspect by comparison with Tirso's women. If she admits her lover to her oratory, it is only after he has made pledge of marriage before the audience and because the force of circumstances seems to demand it. Of this character, Fernández-Guerra comments (*Catálogo razonado*, p. xxxviii): "—a intervenir doña Inés de otra suerte en las invenciones de Tarugo, tendría suma importancia filosófica el drama de nuestro poeta." The observation is valid, but the rôle suggested would call for a character like Marta la Piadosa, and Moreto was incapable of painting such a feminine portrait.

In her relationship with her father, filial respect serves, on the part of the heroine, as a deterrent to action but not to dignified protest. Inés (*El lindo Don Diego*) tells her sister:

Yo a mi padre no tengo resistencia,
mi decoro es la ley de mi obediencia,
a esta atención, aun dél correspondida
por no faltar, perdiera yo la vida.

But at the same time she does not fail to tell her father that he is unjust:

Contigo también, Señor,
es mi voluntad ajena:
solo tu gusto es mi amor;
mas este mismo primor
tu resolución condena.
Porque cuando yo he de estar
pronta siempre a obedecer,
no me debieras mandar
cosa en que puedo tener
licencia de replicar.
Y si me da esta licencia
el cielo, y tu autoridad
me la quita con violencia,
casaráse mi obediencia,
pero no mi voluntad.

[97] *Op. cit.*, I, 8, p. 192. Compare with this energetic protest that of Francisca in *De fuera vendrá:* "Señora, tanto apurar, etc.," I, 10, p. 62.

Siendo este estado, Señor,
de tantos riesgos cercado,
¿no pudiera algún error
dar asunto a mi dolor
y empeños a tu cuidado?[98]

Yet, this possibility of tragedy which Inés points out is one which is only realized in Moreto's theatre on one occasion,[99] partly because fathers are usually reasonable, partly because the same inner respect which makes the conduct of his women irreproachable before their marriage makes them loyal and dignified wives in the marriage relationship. Nor can the infidelity and injustice of a husband in any way alter that conduct. Aurora, unjustly condemned to prison for disloyalty by her own faithless husband, indignantly rejects the suggestion of flight with Alejandro:

DUQUE: Señora, mirad que yo
tengo ya libre a Alejandro,
y os está esperando a vos
para llevaros a Creta.
AURORA: ¿Qué decís? ¿Sabéis quién soy?
Yo para librar la vida,
poner a riesgo mi honor
de hacer cierta la sospecha,
la imaginada traición?
¿Yo con ese hombre? Aunque el medio
de reducir a mi amor
al Duque, a quien tanto adoro,
y restaurar mi opinión
fuera ése, no lo emprendiera.[100]

In her generous attitude toward Nisea, the unwilling recipient of the king's favors, Aurora is characteristic of most of Moreto's heroines. They are never vindictive in their relationship to each other as are Lope's women. At times, the reader of Lope feels that his duchesses and princesses are at heart fishmonger's wives who on the least possible provocation would tear each others eyes out.

[98] *El lindo Don Diego*, III, 6, 367 and I, 11, p. 355.

[99] The case is that of Aurora in *La fuerza de la ley*, and here the king takes the responsibility for the tragedy that occurred when he says to Alejandro (III, 21, p. 100):

y pues yo te debo dar
el honor que te quité
dando ocasión a tu afrenta . . .

[100] *El defensor de su agravio*, III, 9, p. 507.

They would prove admirably Mr. Kipling's thesis as to the kinship of the Colonel's Lady and Judy O'Grady. But the bristling aggressiveness of Julia in *El honrado hermano*, the spitefulness of Gracia in *El Caballero del Sacramento*, or the dog-in-the-manger attitude of Diana in *El perro del hortelano* find no parallel in Moreto's theatre, except in doubtful plays.[101] The queen of *Primero es la honra*, one of the noblest figures of the dramatist, cannot blame Porcia for her unhappiness; it is her own ill star. She only asks her rival sadly:

Sólo quisiera saber
con qué me excedes a mí.
¿Cómo al Rey tanto enamoras,
si con tu llanto le llamas?
Las lágrimas que derramas
¿por qué camino las lloras?
. . . . . .
¿Con qué donaires envuelves
los desdenes que le haces?
Yo le ofendo con mi amor,
tú con rigor le traes ciego;
es, Porcia, acaso un despego
más airoso que un favor?[102]

And when she finds that she cannot win back her husband's thoughts from Porcia (supposedly dead), she brings forth her rival from her hiding place and declares:

Cásate, Señor, con Porcia;
que para que hacerlo puedas,
yo elijo una celda sola
donde viviré contenta
de ver que tu gusto logras,
y que por él he hecho
la fineza más costosa.[103]

In the heroines, as well as in the heroes who people the theatre of Moreto, I can but see a reflection of the personality of the author. In them are mirrored the immense respect which Moreto felt for womanhood, the stress which he put on those virtues of cour-

[101] The attitude of the women in such plays as †*La cautela en la amistad* or †*Hacer del contrario amigo* make it highly improbable to me that these works are Moreto's.

[102] *Primero es la honra*, II, 9, p. 239.

[103] *Op. cit.*, III, 16, p. 247.

tesy, of generosity, of loyalty, of good manners, of dignity and self-restraint. In them are reflected his own kindness, his love of balance and measure, his dislike of discord, his conservatism, his essentially aristocratic outlook.

This dislike of extremes, accompanied by an Attic wit, kept him on the one hand from a sentimentality into which his idealism might otherwise have led him, and on the other, from the extremes of the *pundonor* which would substitute a conventional code for a personal one. There is, as Señor Alonso Cortés[104] points out, nothing "tumultuous" in the plays of Moreto; his is the "reflective" theatre of one who is interested in man's ethical outlook. Hence, the tendency to stress the didactic in such plays as *El Licenciado Vidriera*, *De fuera vendrá* and *Cómo se vengan los nobles*.

The limitations which such a background would impose are obvious. His gallery of portraits, drawn as they largely are from one social group, and that a group which prides itself on its conventionalism and its maintenance of the *status quo*, could not offer great variety. In Moreto's theatre there are none of the noble *villanos* who are so outstanding in Lope's. He has exalted the simple life of the peasant now and then in such plays as *La misma conciencia acusa* (I, 8) and *Los jueces de Castilla* (I, 1, 472 and II, 7, 477), but usually from the lips of some philosophic nobleman. There are in his theatre no such characters as Lope's Peribáñez or Calderón's mayor of Zalamea. Furthermore, the mother enters on Moreto's stage even more rarely than on Lope's, and the three children who cross the boards in *Los jueces de Castilla*, **El mejor par de los doce*, and **El príncipe perseguido* are in reality noblemen of the court of Philip IV.[105] The same may be said of his historical characters, be they of the court of Athens, of the Round Table of France, or of the days of the judges of Castile. And finally, the characterization of Moreto, while clear, consistent, and attractive, is rarely vivid. One does not feel therein the vital force of a vigorous and aggressive personality, nor of one who, finding a sensuous gusto in *things* of this world, possesses an infinite capacity for active living.

[104] Alonso Cortés, N., *El lindo Don Diego* y *El desdén con el desdén*, *Prólogo*, p. 12.

[105] There are few pictures of intimate family life in Moreto's theatre. In revising Lope's *El testimonio vengado*, Moreto omitted such scenes of this nature as are found in his source. See p. 157 of this study.

c. Moreto's Theatre as a Mirror of his Day

If Moreto's characters are a reflection of his own personality, to a certain extent they are in their various relationships a mirror of the social organism of the day and of the author's reaction to it. In dealing with his women and their various ties, I have had occasion to picture the family group. In the portrayal of his male protagonists the reader has seen his ideal of manhood, primarily, however, in the rôle of lover. But what of the duties and interrelationships of the various classes?

The plays *El defensor de su honra*, *La fuerza de la ley*, *El mejor amigo el rey*, *Primero es la honra*, **El rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo*, and *El valiente justiciero* are those in which one sees best reflected Moreto's conception of kingship and law. The perfect ruler is, first of all, the "custodian of the law," and *La fuerza de la ley* was, in the words of the poet, written that "men might have respect for that force which must serve as a base to the very foundations of a city." The law which is established but not enforced for all makes daring the rest; it is like a shadow which does not frighten once that we know it for a shadow! Thus, when Demetrio, the crown prince, breaks the decree against adultery, the king, Seleuco, orders that his son suffer the usual penalty of loss of both eyes.

It is a decree which is later changed to the loss of one eye, the king himself giving up one of his own in order that the letter of the law may be observed. Thus does Seleuco fulfil the second requirement of king, that of mercy—'a mercy which exalts the name of just," as Doña Leonor tells Don Pedro in *El valiente justiciero* (III, 2, p. 344). This insistence that justice be tempered with mercy, which is found repeatedly in Moreto's theatre,[106] no doubt finds part explanation in his realization of human limitations. As Nuño tells those who have made him judge:

> que aun siendo el juez recto e justo,
> puede faltar la justicia.
> . . . . . .
> Pues no haber pasión, es llano
> que es tan imposible como
> dejar yo de ser humano.[107]

[106] See, for instance, Mansto's words to the officials of the law in *San Franco de Sena* (II, 4, p. 129).

[107] *Los jueces de Castilla*, III, 17, p. 486.

The ideal king must furthermore not entrust his power to favorites, for

> . . . . no hay ministro tan grande
> a quien advertido y sabio
> no deba asistir su dueño.[108]

He must be willing always to sacrifice himself for the good of his vassals, must be generous to his personal enemies,[109] and a stranger to physical fear. Neverthless, Moreto has, on the whole, exalted the king in the rôle of lawgiver or of courteous gentleman and friend rather than in that of warrior.[110]

Most of Moreto's rulers fall short of the ideal just painted, though in some regards Ramiro (*Cómo se vengan los nobles*), Seleuco (*La fuerza de la ley*), and the two Don Pedros (*El mejor amigo el rey* and *El valiente justiciero*) approach it. On the whole, however, there is no glorification, direct or indirect, of the monarchical in his theatre. Praise of the monarch or his family, which is not rare in Lope de Vega's plays, is most infrequent in Moreto's. I have noted it only in *No puede ser* (I, 1, p. 188), where the king is flattered as a poet, and in *De fuera vendrá* (I, 1, p. 58), where Don Juan José de Austria, the Condestable, merits high praise for his part in the siege of Gerona in 1653. In reworking Lope's *El gran duque de Moscovia y emperador perseguido*, Moreto saw fit to eliminate the scene wherein Lamberto deliberately sacrifices his son's life in order to save his prince's. For the most part, his kings are reasonable human beings who are subject to ordinary human frailities and are, therefore, entitled to the same tolerance and compassion that the poet shows to his other characters.[111] The rulers of *Primero es la honra*, *El defensor de su agravio*, and **El rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo* are weak, but they are neither sadistic nor tyrannical.[112] Even the

[108] *El príncipe perseguido*, III, p. 29. There is nothing in Moreto's theatre, however, to support Buzarán's story (*Revista de Ciencias*, Vol. I, pp. 455–458) about the supposed enmity between Moreto and the Duque de Olivares.

[109] See *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, **El rey Don Enrique*, *La misma conciencia acusa*, and *El valiente justiciero*.

[110] In this connection one remembers the transformation that Moreto and his collaborators wrought in the ruler of Lope's *Capitán prodigioso y príncipe de Transilvania*. See p. 194. It is a change which perhaps explains Felipe IV's small success in Cataluña and Portugal.

[111] The king of Sicily (†*El Eneas de Dios*) is an exception.

[112] The king of *Cómo se vengan los nobles* is a kind old fellow with a deep-rooted affection for his wife—one who refuses to believe his wife guilty in spite of the evi-

usurper of *La misma conciencia acusa*, in the dread fear which motivates his every act, is pitiful rather than repulsive.

That the king can do no wrong, then, is a point of view which finds no expression in Moreto's theatre. Nevertheless, his office endows him with a certain quality of deity which should command the obedience and reverence of his vassals. Fortún tells Ramiro:

> El Rey ha de ser, sobrino,
> tan venerado de todos,
> tan respetado y temido
> que nadie le juzgue humano
> y le imagine divino.[113]

When Inés would explain to herself the king's majesty, a majesty which she had not felt when she met him disguised, Leonor explains:

> Tanto el oficio de rey
> a la persona autoriza
> que se ve como deidad
> al que como rey se mira.[114]

Alejandro cannot kill his prince, Demetrio, even though the latter has robbed him of his wife; however, the king would have felt him justified in so doing if we may judge by his words to his son:

> El horror del sacrilegio,
> en quien contra el rey pelea,
> le acobarda los impulsos,
> con que al ofenderle tiembla;
> mas si en la injuria, la insignia
> de tirano es la que llevas,
> no es sacrílega la mano
> del que no te la respeta.[115]

Repeatedly Moreto tells the nobleman that he must live up to his name if he would command the respect and obedience of those under him. It is his duty to set an example. The Count, witness to the quarrels of his two sons, tells them:

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dence adduced. His prototype in Lope's play is only too ready to accept the accusations brought against his wife and to sentence her to a cruel death.

[113] *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, I, 2, p. 427.

[114] *El valiente justiciero*, II, 5, p. 339.

[115] *La fuerza de la ley*, II, 18, p. 94. Similar ideas may be found in Mariana's *De rege*.

¿Qué ejemplo queda a los nobles?
¿qué enseñanza a los plebeyos?
¿qué advertencia a los iguales?
. . . . . .
a ejemplo de las cabezas
se compone todo el pueblo;
y a la luz de este principio
veréis siempre al vulgo atento,
que en diferenciando el traje,
os imita el uso nuevo;
ya en la plática el lenguaje;
ya el estilo en los festejos,
y en la vida las costumbres;
porque haciendo un argumento
el inferior a su daño,
si en vosotros ve el ejemplo,
dice: "si aquél este error
comete, bárbaro, o ciego,
en quien es más el delito,
bien podré yo en quien es menos."
Pues si vosotros sois siempre
de sus acciones espejo,
y en ellos naturalmente
la ceguedad tiene el centro,
¿cómo queréis, que en su engaño
si, para obrar desatentos,
les da el espejo la espuela,
la ceguedad les dé el freno?[116]

Moreover, the satisfaction which he obtains from fulfilling the duties of his class is, of course, his only reward. To Doña Ana who would repay him for saving her life, Don Juan makes answer:

Caballeros de mis prendas,
premio y agradecimiento
tienen por lo que profesan
en cumplir con su obligación;
yo la cumplí y cobré della.[117]

Moreto's attitude toward the serving class is, as we have seen in the quotations from *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, a paternal one. It is a group in which "blindness has its center"; a group "whose opinion is as shifting as the weathervane" (**Santa Rosa del Perú*, II, p. 16); a group which "calls justice cruelty, prudence fear, pity

[116] *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, I, p. 4.
[117] *Trampa adelante*, I, 1, p. 143.

cowardice, liberty prodigality" (**Travesuras son valor*, second version, I, 3–4). It is a group which is at times grasping and disloyal, one which if given authority is puffed up with its own importance. The coachman, the tailor, the country mayor, and the innkeeper are in turn the butt of Moreto's humor.

And yet, for the poet as for Gracia of †*El Eneas de Dios* (II, pp. 18–19), "poverty had keys with which to open the door to pity," and a life dedicated to charity is proof that Moreto was not deaf to the cacophany of despair and degradation that lay about him. I have already had occasion to quote from *La misma conciencia acusa* (I, 14, p. 106) the words of Carlos;[118] was it Moreto who wrote the following words from **La vida y muerte de San Cayetano?*

> Tener lo que ha menester
> cada cual para su gasto
> manda Dios por medios justos,
> mas no por medios tiranos;
> a su providencia toca
> dar sólo lo necesario
> a cada criatura suya,
> y así el que superfluo y vano
> tiene demás las riquezas,
> que del mundo son aplausos,
> lo que le sobra no es suyo;
> volverlo debe a las manos
> del pobre a quien se lo usurpa
> de su sustento, y es llano,
> pues quiere guardar él solo
> lo que Dios da para tantos.[119]

Compassion and justice Moreto could give them, but not admiration. That innate dignity and nobility of soul which Lope de Vega saw in the peasant class was lost on him—perhaps because his lot had thrown him largely with the outcasts of this group.

Of the professional class, Moreto has comparatively little to say except of clerics and doctors. The former group I have already had occasion to discuss in connection with his religious plays. Concerning the doctor, there are so many unkind references in his theatre that one cannot but feel in his animadversion something

[118] See p. 6 of this study.

[119] *San Cayetano*, I, p. 322. Moreto's will, wherein it is ordered that "whatever *may* be left after all debts are paid" should be turned over to the poor, would indicate that he had lived as he preached.

personal,[120] though the complaints are the stereotyped ones of his day: the doctor is a donkey whose knowledge of medicine is limited to purging and blood-letting; he is life's greatest enemy,—one who, like the hunter, eats from what he kills and who, like dessert, comes at the end; he ever has his hand extended for money and, in order to play his rôle of the esoteric and to confound the uninitiated, he speaks an unknown jargon. There should be a law by which the patient pays so much for a fever, so much for a pain in the side; if he dies, then the doctor should collect nothing and should be made to bury his victim at his own expense. Once, however, Moreto's usual sense of fairness comes to the rescue. In answer to Luquete's long tirade against the profession, Seleuco answers:

Con la vulgar opinión
los médicos tratas mal;
cuando la causa es mortal,
vanos los remedios son;
aunque más los culpes, ellos
son el norte de la vida,
y no hay en cualquier caída
más alivio que tenellos.
Dudar fuera desatino
que yerran como acontece;
mas también el que adolece
tiene el yerro por destino;
y el médico más liviano,
que ha estudiado esta doctrina,
sabe más de medicina
que el más docto cortesano;
conque, yo llego a creer
que más daño ha de causar
sin su consejo acertar,
que errar por su parecer.[121]

The law and its representatives come in for relatively little comment in Moreto. There is a burlesque trial in *Los jueces de Castilla* (III, 17)in which Sancho "appeals" at every moment; a comic divorce suit against the maid Marina in *Hasta el fin nadie es di-*

[120] The same may be said for his attitude toward the Galicians who are the butt of his jokes in **Hacer remedio el dolor* (III, p. 52), †*La gala del nadar* (I, p. 171), *El Licenciado Vidriera* (I, 1, p. 249 and II, 16, p. 262), *El lindo Don Diego* (III, 2, p. 366), *San Franco de Sena* (I, 6, p. 123 and I, 7, p. 125), *Trampa adelante* (II, 8, p. 153), *La vida de San Alejo* (III, p. 23), *Las travesuras de Pantoja* (I, 2, p. 391).

[121] *Antíoco y Seleuco*, II, 1, p. 45.

choso (II, pp. 20–21); and a consultation between lawyer and client in *Las travesuras de Pantoja* (III, 6) that is one of the outstanding scenes in Moreto's theatre. These, together with the many metaphors which Moreto has borrowed from the terminology of the legal profession,[122] would indicate that he had had some first-hand acquaintance with legal procedure.

The few references to the life of the soldier and the wars in which Spain was engaged during the 1640's and 1650's give little support to Mesonero Romanos' statement that Moreto served in Flanders.[123] There is the long and undramatic description of the rescue of Gerona in *De fuera vendrá,* (I, 2, p. 58); the picture of the hardships of the profession in the very doubtful play †*La cautela en la amistad* (I, p. 322); and the praise of the camp as a means of perfecting the gentleman in *El Caballero* (I, 1, p. 289), though both Manzano and his master agree that

> No es la guerra ni sus fueros
> quien hace los caballeros,
> sino su naturaleza.

Allusions to writers or to literary conditions of the day are so lacking as to indicate, on Moreto's part, a studied policy in this regard. There is not a single mention of any contemporary writer in Moreto's entire theatre.[124] It is a fact which is interesting in the light of the similar policy of silence which his contemporaries seem to have adopted toward him. How should one interpret this reserve of Moreto? As a sense of dignity which led him to fear that public praise could be interpreted as calculating or servile? As a form of pride which met disdain with disdain? Or as a discretion which found safety in neither praise nor censure?

Of allusions to earlier writers, there are a number, though they are not such as to indicate that Moreto's background was a rich one. There are, of course, scattering references to the classics. Ho-

[122] See, for instance, the lengthy one of Alejandro in *La fuerza de la ley,* III, 14, p. 99.

[123] Quoted from the letter of Don Joaquín Manuel de Alba which Fernández-Guerra printed in his *Discurso preliminar, Op. cit.,* p. xvi.

[124] If for no other reason, †*La ocasión hace al ladrón* with its praise of Calderón (I, 6, p. 409) would be doubtful. Romera-Navarro's study, *Lope y su defensa de la pureza de la lengua y estilo poético* (*Revue Hispanique,* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 287–381) gives some idea of the personal remarks that are to be found in the dramas of Lope's day.

mer, Virgil, Livy, Seneca, and Pliny come in for mention, but there is no evidence that our poet had a first-hand acquaintance with them. Allusions to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (†*El Eneas de Dios*, II, p. 27), to his *De arte amandi* (**La fuerza del natural*, I, 2, p. 209), and to his "fábulas" (*Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, I, p. 7), as well as the quotations which Moreto used in the dedication of his volume of plays of 1654,[125] would indicate that it was otherwise in regard to Ovid. This opinion is further borne out by the many scholastic discussions of love in his plays.

That Moreto had a first-hand knowledge of Italian or French writers seems equally doubtful. Petrarca, Marino, Sannazaro, Guarino, and Tasso find mention in his plays, no more. Indeed, there is little there to prove that Moreto, though of immediate Italian descent, had more than a smattering of the language of his forefathers. The few phrases of Portuguese found in his theatre are perhaps a reflection of his friendship with Matos Fragoso. His French vocabulary seems to have consisted of the one word "allons," invariably spelled "alón."[126] There are, on the other hand, many Latin phrases,—most of them drawn from church hymns,—that clearly reflect his connection with the church.

Moreto evidently knew something of the *romances* of Spain. Not only are there various allusions to the Duque de Mantua, Galván, Valdovinos, Magancés, Lanzarote, Arias Gonzalo, Doña Lambra, los Jueces de Castilla, Vellido Dolfos, Rodrigo, and La Cava, but there are lines quoted from such well-known ballads as "Hélo, hélo, por do viene," "Rey Don Sancho, rey Don Sancho," "Dónde vas tan de mañaña," "Reto a Zamora," "Plegue a Dios, vil Magancés," "El postigo que nunca fué cerrado," "Media noche era por filo." These were, of course, the commonplaces of the street urchin and indicate no particular appreciation of the epic traditions of olden Spain. Certainly as a source for dramatic material, they held no attraction for our dramatist.

[125] See Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 4.

[126] There are phrases of Italian in *La fuerza de la ley*, **El rey Don Enrique*, and **Hacer remedio el dolor;* of Portuguese in *El mejor amigo el rey* and *El Caballero*. A kind of jargon is to be found in *El defensor de su agravio* and *Las travesuras de Pantoja*. Latin phrases, nearly always used for comic effect, occur in *El desdén con el desdén*, *La fuerza de la ley*, *El lindo Don Diego*, *Lo que puede la aprehensión*, *El mejor amigo el rey*, *El Parecido en la corte*, *Trampa adelante*, and *Las travesuras de Pantoja* as well as in several of those plays which were written in collaboration.

In the field of lyric poetry, Moreto pays tribute to Jorge Manrique by using for a parody the verse form of his famous *Coplas* in *El poder de la amistad* (II, 3, p. 29) and by including a modified version of the lines beginning "Este mundo es el camino" in **La adúltera penitente* (III, p. 28); to Garcilaso by borrowing for a refrain his "Salid sin duelo, lágrimas corriendo" in **Caer para levantar* (III, 1, p. 594) and in *La vida de San Alejo* (II, p. 10) and by using his "Dulces prendas por mi mal halladas" in *Primero es la honra* (III, 7, p. 245) and *La vida de San Alejo* (III, p. 29). There are, too, sonnets and *canciones* in *La vida de San Alejo*, †*La gala de nadar*, and †*El Cristo de los milagros* whose inspiration is clearly to be found in lines of the soldier-poet. "Ven, muerte, tan escondida," "Aprended, flores, de mí," "Ruiseñor, que volando vas," and "Ande yo caliente y ríase la gente,"—these, too, find use in Moreto's plays.[127] The names at least of Juan de Mena, "El retor de Villahermosa," Cristóbal de Mesa, Diego Jiménez Enciso, Villamediana, and Don Antonio de Mendoza were also known to him. In conclusion, my combings are not such as to indicate that Moreto had any great love of lyric poetry, though the influence of Garcilaso is evident, particularly in *La vida de San Alejo.*

As to his acquaintance with the novel, there are no more than stereotyped references to *La Celestina* and to Quevedo. On the other hand, there is reason to think that Moreto knew and loved Cervantes' works. One finds allusions to his *Ilustre fregona* (*Amor y obligación*, I, p. 6), to his *Celoso extremeño* (*No puede ser*, I, 1, p. 188) and to his *Don Quijote* (*El más ilustre francés*, II, p. 146). The best proof, however, of his indebtedness to the master is the distinctly Cervantean flavor of some of his *graciosos*, such as Tirso in *La misma conciencia acusa*, Sancho in *Los jueces de Castilla*, and Colín in *El más ilustre francés.*

Proof of Moreto's predilection for Lope and his work could be found in his allusions, were that proof needed. References to his *El caballero de Olmedo*, *El galán de la membrilla*, *El villano en su rincón*, as well as to his *Arcadia* and *La hermosura de Angélica*, may be found scattered throughout the poet's pages. Direct tributes are not lacking: for Polilla of *El desdén con el desdén* (III, 2, p. 14), Lope is "El fenix español, de los ingenios el sol;" and for Carreño

[127] The two first ones in *El defensor de su agravio* (III, 1, p. 504 and III, 4, p. 505), the third in **La fingida Arcadia* (III, p. 554), and the last in *Fingir y amar* (II, p. 12).

of †*El Cristo de los Milagros*, "the honor of Spain, worthy to be mentioned with Virgil and Homer." Tirso de Molina's *Averígüelo Vargas* and Rojas' *Del rey abajo ninguno* are mentioned and on more than one occasion.

The author's theatre likewise gives little direct information concerning theatrical conditions of the day. Of the actors and their audiences, we learn only that the former are so accustomed to receiving free the cast-off raiment of the nobles that they would be unwilling to pay for the finery to which Zancarrón and Manco have fallen heir (*La vida de San Alejo*, II, p. 14); that the pit had "mouths of fire" (*La fuerza de la ley*, II, 9, p. 91) and that they had "castradores" with which to whistle the poor actors off the stage (**No hay reino como el de Dios*, I, p. 7); that audiences are so unreasonable in their demands for new comedies that

> Si uno en un año una estrena
> no hace nada, aunque sea buena;
> si cada mes con codicia
> una saca, no hay razón
> que esto descontarle quiera,
> y en errando la primera
> pierde la reputación;
> ni por dos buenas, ni aun ciento,
> una mala se recibe.[128]

One finds few of those intimate details of every day life which are for the modern reader of Lope de Vega so many threads of gold and scarlet that relieve the boredom of even his least inspired comedies. Concerning dress, there is comparatively little in Moreto's comedies. One feels on reading Lope's plays that he took a genuine delight in color, one which led him to be most observant, particularly of women's finery. It is not so with Moreto. His ideal for women's dress was apparently that of simplicity. In *El lindo Don Diego*, Doña Ines and her sister Leonor would find some way by which they might frighten off their unwelcome lovers:

> DOÑA INÉS: ¡Ay, Leonor! ¿cómo podremos
> hallar las dos un camino
> de parecerlos muy mal?
> DOÑA LEONOR: Apelar al artificio:

[128] *La fuerza de la ley*, I, 10, p. 86. The rather acid tones of the story which serves as an illustration to the quotation given above would indicate that Moreto had lately suffered at the hands of his audience.

mucho moño y arracadas,
valona de cañutillos,
mucha color, mucho afeite,
mucho lazo, mucho rizo,
y verás que mala estás;
porque yo, según me he visto,
nunca saco peor cara
que con muchos atavíos.

DOÑA INÉS: Tienes buen gusto, Leonor;
que es el demasiado aliño
confusión de la hermosura
y embarazo para el brío.[129]

And if Moreto himself was a "lindo," I can find little evidence of it in his plays. He was probably very neat, but it is impossible to read anything but disapproval on his part of the elaborate costume of the dapper Don Diego, of that dandy who affected curled hair, precise bows, and sleeves with galloon lace, who preferred a showy new shade of green to the more conservative white.[130] We learn also that taffeta was not in vogue then (*Fingir y amar*, II, p. 12), but all in all, that love and knowledge of clothes which is reflected in Lope's theatre finds little expression in Moreto's.

Of the food of the day one gains a somewhat better idea because his *graciosos* are so frequently addicted to gluttony. This servant revels in the expensive foods of the rich: *pollos, capones, perdices, gazapos, salsas;* that one longs for the flesh pots of his plebeian food: *jamón, lechón, morcillas, vacas en adobo, menudos de longanizas, pernil, revollitos, bofes, berzas, nabos, migas, ajos, cebollas.* He who would win favor from a lady should offer her: "*pasteles de a cuarto, garbanzos verdes, turrón, almendrucos, azofaifas, plátanos tiernos de flor, zarzamoras, maguelas (majuelas?), limas, madroños de olor, castañas, nueces, bellotas, piñón, fruta, natas.*" If one would know how to cook a chicken, let him ask Gonela (**La vida de San Cayetano*, III, p. 343); or if a rabbit, Serapión of *Los más dichosos hermanos* (III, p. 22); or if chocolate, Bodigo of **Santa Rosa del Perú* (III, p. 29). This drink had at least by 1669 (the date of **Santa Rosa del Perú*) become so popular as to call for regular chocolate services. Tarugo (*No puede ser*), who had supposedly brought with him a store of chocolate from Guajaca, assures us

[129] *El lindo Don Diego*, I, 4, p. 352.

[130] His dislike of the type is also expressed in *San Franco de Sena*, I, 6, p. 123.

that its use was as common as that of tobacco.[131] If Moreto was a connoisseur of wines, there is no evidence of it in his comedies.

On the other hand, there is proof on almost every page that Moreto found pleasure in cards. The greatest difficulty that the modern reader finds in connection with his plays is that of understanding his many metaphors from the card table. *La primera, hombre, malilla, cientos, quince, pintas;* these are games which are mentioned repeatedly, and in connection with them, the phrases *envidar, picar, flor, azar, pedir trocado*, etc. Other amusements of the day were *los bolos, la pizpirigana, la passa-passa, el crucillo, los toros*, and *el correr novillos.*

Not infrequently dances play a part in Moreto's theatre. *La chacona*, the *Ay, ay, ay*, the *zarabanda*, are named in †*La milagrosa elección de San Pío V;* the *pie gibado*, the *matachín* (dance of the lower class, apparently), and the *española*, in †**Travesuras son valor;* masked dances in **Hacer remedio el dolor* and *El desdén con el desdén;* the *pavana* (clearly a court amusement) in *Industrias contra finezas*, **La fuerza del natural*, and **Oponerse a las estrellas.* Rather definite instructions for dancing the *pavana* may be read in the two plays last mentioned.[132]

The many exercises of wit which are to be found in Moreto's comedies give evidence of the pleasure which he evidently felt in the "academies" of the day. Such plays as *No puede ser, Industrias contra finezas, El desdén con el desdén, *Hacer remedio el dolor, *La fingida Arcadia*, and **La fuerza del natural* have scenes which are an obvious reflection of the intellectual gymnastics that took place in the academies (such as *La academia castellana*) among devotees of the poetic art. In *Industrias contra finezas* (I, 3, p. 271), the question which nearly results in a duel is "Is it better to give up one's beloved to a rival or to death?" In **La fingida Arcadia* (II, p. 548), the leader starts the game by asking: "What would you wish to be if you could cease to be what you are?" In *No puede ser* (I, 2, p. 189), Doña Ana, who presides, propounds this riddle: "What is that thing which, like carbon, grows the more, the more one covers it up?" The answer is, of course, "a woman's love."

Moreto's theatre, as a picture of customs, is on the whole disap-

[131] One reads in Barrionuevo's *Avisos* (Vol. I, pp. 126–127) under date of Nov. 7, 1654 that the Duque de Albuquerque has sent back from Mexico to his friends in Madrid 24,000 pounds of chocolate! Barrionuevo terms it a "brava locura."

[132] See **La fuerza del natural*, II, 5, p. 218, and **Oponerse a las estrellas* II, p. 23.

pointing. It is an idealized world, one filled with courteous gentlemen and charming women who move about in a milieu of semi-intellectualism. Of the corruption of the court, its love of ease, its ostentation, its crafty selfishness, its flagrant dissipations, there is only an indirect reflection, and of the political gloom and the economic misery that attended Philip's unhappy wars with France, Catalonia, Portugal, and Italy, there is even less. Only rarely does stark reality penetrate the elegant atmosphere of his drawing-room.

d. The Dramatist's Philosophical Outlook on Life

To Moreto, the universe was, on the whole, a harmonious one —though with many discordant notes. In order that the music of the spheres be more audible and more perfect, he would insist (in the thesis of his plays and in the many passages of moral philosophy which have been put into the mouths of his characters) that (1) the end of existence is the attainment of virtue; (2) in order to attain this virtue, reason must always be superior to emotion. Thus, in his philosophy the two ideas are supplementary to each other.

This philosophy of "virtue in accordance with reason," on the one hand, takes as its premise the superiority of the spiritual over the corporeal, of abstract ideas over material things, of the so-called unreal over the so-called real. It assumes for man the power of choice, and it presupposes within us that small inner voice of conscience which will help point the way. Moreover, it predicates a sense of values based on that inner self.

On the other hand, it glorifies intellect, for man must not only have a conscience but an intelligent one. "Sovereign intellect, the guide of mankind!" so Tarugo of *No puede ser* (III, 3, p. 202) apostrophizes it. The senses are not to be trusted, Dantea tells herself:

> . . . primero es la razón
> que el yerro de los sentidos.[133]

It is reason alone which differentiates man from the beast, Basilio of **El príncipe perseguido* learns. The indignation of Carlos (*El Licenciado Vidriera*) comes not entirely from the ingratitude of this world; it is, in part, a resentment against the stupidity of this world, a stupidity which makes it possible for a madman to succeed whereas a man in his senses fails. In this glorification of the intel-

[133] *Industrias contra finezas*, II, 18, p. 281.

lect, we find the explanation of the essentially mental type of Moreto's characters.

When his heroes and heroines find themselves not acting in accordance with reason, they cry out: "Contra mí mismo me irrito." As we have already seen, Astrea of *Amor y obligación* asks herself (III, p. 30): "¿No soy yo más que todas mis pasiones?" Lidoro tells the duke:

> ¿No advertís que es barbarismo
> no poder más que vos?[134]

The king of *Primero es la honra*, struck by the generosity and will power of his wife, asks:

> y ¿que se haya de decir
> que una mujer valerosa
> supo vencer sus pasiones
> cuando a mí me arrastran todas?[135]

Man, then, has the power of choice and if he errs in that choice, "his own conscience accuses him." It is the king's sense of guilt, nothing else, which brings about his downfall in *La misma conciencia acusa.*

This philosophy of virtue in accordance with reason must explain Moreto's contempt for gold, a contempt which is briefly expressed in Tarugo's

> Más vale un ingenio claro
> que todo el oro del mundo.[136]

and at greater length in *La misma conciencia acusa:*

> ENRIQUE: ¿No os agrada esa grandeza?
> El oro ¿no os da codicia,
> que es el que honra el valor
> y la nobleza acredita?
> CARLOS: ¿Cómo puede acreditar
> una cosa tan indigna,
> que por medios viles puede
> de cualquier ser adquirida?
> La razón porque le encubre
> la tierra, no es entendida.
> ¿Piensan que por ser precioso

[134] *El defensor de su agravio*, II, 1, p. 498.
[135] *Primero es la honra*, III, 16, p. 247.
[136] *No puede ser*, III, 3, p. 202.

en su centro le retira?
Pues no lo hace de avarienta,
antes sí de compasiva,
como quien dice: "Hombre ciego,
que a este metal tanto aspiras,
quitarle quiero a tus ojos,
sólo por ver si le olvidas;
que el hacértelo imposible
es piadosa tiranía
para que tú no le busques
que es rigor, si bien lo miras,
que lo que tan poco vale
te cueste tanta fatiga."[137]

And when this vile metal is put in the scales against love, friendship, loyalty, generosity, and innate courtesy, it is always the loser. In Moreto's idealized world, virtue, accompanied by intellect, always triumphs. The unselfish love of Fernando (*Industrias contra finezas*) wins out against the mercenary motives of his opponents. Carlos (*La misma conciencia acusa*) successfully defends himself against the machinations of the usurper of his throne, winning both his kingdom and his love. Indeed, virtue is often man's best weapon. Ramiro (*Cómo se vengan los nobles*) defends the honor of the queen who had tried to take his life. Thus does the true noble avenge himself—and thus does he win the kingdom which is his. Antíoco prefers to die rather than claim the love of the woman who is affianced to his father; the parent, moved by such generosity of spirit, renounces his own love that his son may be happy. Vice versa, the elegant Don Diego who has no yardstick of values other than that of dress and of money, finds at the end that his avarice has betrayed him into making love to the servant, Beatriz, instead of to the countess to whom he aspired.

Altogether, it is an outlook which leaves little room for the extremes of the *pundonor*.[138] In the first place, man can be so easily deceived by others or even by his own senses. The duke of Athens (*El defensor de su agravio*), realizing at last that his innocent wife is the victim of Lidoro's wiles and of his own hasty conclusions, cries out (III, 8, p. 506):

[137] *La misma conciencia*, I, 14, p. 106.

[138] There are very few characters in Moreto's theatre who lose their lives in a duel. These are invariably killed off-stage—if we except the **Travesuras son valor*, which in all probability was written in collaboration. See p. 197 of this study.

¡Oh, información primera,
estrago de las honras y las vidas!
¡Cuántas han sido falsas y creídas!
¿Cabiendo duda, ciego lo he creído?

And in **No hay reino como el de Dios* (I, p. 3) Leonor exlaims:

¡Oh, aprehensión envejecida
del siglo, injusta y severa,
pues de la mujer los timbres
gradúas por la apariencia!
¡Ciego error! ¡Opinión varia!
Pues, para que sea buena,
que lo parezca es bastante
y no importa que lo sea.[139]

Yet perhaps the whole matter of honor was for Moreto a "confused law." Sancho el Malo reasons thus:

Y ésta es la regla primera
que en esta ley tan confusa
observo yo, que en cualquiera
lo que la conciencia acusa
es la opinión verdadera;
y aunque me diga el testigo
que quedo yo sin deshonra,
si pienso que no y le sigo,
es cierto que estoy sin honra
para con él y conmigo:
fuera de esto cuando está
en opiniones un caso,
la que por buena me dan,
no la apruebo ni la paso,
si otra afrentándome está;
pues si la honra es aprensión
de los hombres, cuando entre ellos
no hay concordancia y unión,
yo la pierdo para aquellos
que llevan otra opinión.[140]

Love, too, was a matter which puzzled our author. Fernández-Guerra finds in a personal experience a possible explanation for

[139] See Irene's comic description of honor and its disadvantages: *La fuerza de la ley*, II, 9, pp. 91–92, and Coquín's insistence in **El mejor par de los doce* (II, p. 20) that "la honra es una bambolla."

[140] **Travesuras son valor* (later version), II, p. 18. For a conventional opinion, see also *Primero es la honra*, III, 5, p. 244.

Moreto's interest in the subject of disdain.[141] It is not improbable that the poet burned his fingers at the flame of love—and perhaps on more than one occasion—but his interest is, when all is said and done, that of an onlooker who cannot explain to himself the inconsistencies of this emotional force. As Mesonero Romanos expressed it, Moreto has "discussed love."[142]

Our author believed in the superiority of intellect and logic; yet, here was an emotional force which, however irrational, nevertheless, did not hestitate to measure its strength with reason. He had faith in the freedom of the human will to choose; yet here was a power that seemed to have all the strength of destiny itself. He exalted generosity of soul as one of the most admirable of qualities; yet, in love he found a force which was often repelled by generosity and attracted by ill-treatment. Love, a giant in its strength is a child in its whims: it cries for the moon. Once in possession of that moon, however, it loses all interest in its toy unless some of its playmates evince an interest in its possession. As Torrezno expresses it, in *Primero es la honra* (II, 9, p. 238), a man's wife and his "olla" are good only when absent. Here was a force which refused to be pigeonholed in our author's world of virtue guided by intellect. Its very enchantment, then, lay in the "reason of the lack of reason."[143]

To sum up Moreto's philosophy, one finds in his pages the honorable code of the teacher who is naturally temperate, not the inspired vision of the high priest. It is on the whole a practical outlook which is conducive to noble living. It is, furthermore, the personal code of an individualist, though it is in many regards so conservative, so entirely in harmony with that of the *status quo* that at first glance it seems conventional rather than personal. Indeed, I doubt not that Moreto would ordinarily see in convention the crystallized form which racial wisdom has assumed. It is an outlook which finds a panacea for human ills in evolution rather than in revolution. And this evolution can come only through each

[141] *Op. cit.*, p. xxii.

[142] See *B.A.E.*, LIV, p. xx:—". . . ni quiso como Calderón espiritualizar la pasión amorosa, ni como Tirso, materializarla, ni embellecerla como Lope; ni *discutirla* como Moreto; ni enaltecerla como Alarcón."

[143] This "lack of reason" is argued at length in *El desdén con el desdén* (I, 1, p. 2) by Carlos, who distinctly resents his own illogicality, this "avenging fury of love" which has come to disturb his tranquil, free existence.

individual's exercise of virtue and reason. In turn these must be the product of education that is spread through example rather than precept. Hence, the nobleman's obligation to be noble.

It is an ethical point of view which looks backward to Marcus Aurelius and forward to the Age of Reason; it is, moreover, one which is, in so far as it reaches, identical with that of his noble contemporary Spinoza.[144]

[144] From the *Foundations of Moral Life*, one may select at random the following sentences:

The primary foundation of virtue is the preservation of our being according to the guidance of reason.

To act in conformity [then], with virtue is nothing but acting according to the guidance of reason.

It is therefore, most profitable to us in life to make perfect the intellect or reason as far as possible, and in this one thing consists the highest happiness or blessedness.

If we live according to the guidance of reason, we shall desire for others the good which we seek for ourselves.

Minds, nevertheless, are not conquered by arms but by love and generosity.

CHAPTER III

MORETO'S PLACE IN LITERARY HISTORY

1. His Success or Failure in the Various Genres

Before arriving at any conclusions as to Moreto's place in literary history, one must first note the absence from his theatre of certain genres. That the playwright consciously or unconsciously veered away from a portrayal of the tragic is evidenced by the fact that there is not a single play in his whole secular theatre which conforms to the technical requirements of a tragedy—and this, too, when both logic and good stagecraft call for an unhappy ending in four of his dramas. Had *Primero es la honra* ended with the death of Laura at the close of the second act, it would have been a drama surpassed by few in the whole *Siglo de Oro*. Had Moreto had the courage to carry *El Licenciado Vidriera* to its own bitter conclusion, what a magnificent drama of human ingratitude we should have had. How unpoetic the last-minute pardons of Sancho in **Travesuras son valor* and of Don Tello in *El valiente justiciero!*

What interpretation should one give to Moreto's aversion to the tragic? Does it find explanation in a pacific and kindly temperament that could not see poor human flies suffer, even on the stage, without attempting to rescue them? Is the answer to be found in a mistaken conception of classic restraint which gave him an aristocratic aversion for anything that verges on the melodramatic or deeply emotional? Does it lie in a certain emotional shallowness of character that could have no comprehension of the tragic depths of despair? The general tone qualities of his theatre would point to a combination of the three.

Moreto was likewise lacking in a sense of the epic and historical. It is true that Fernández-Guerra classified thirteen plays as "historical and traditional,"[1] and with **La mejor luna africana* and **El rey D. Enrique, el Enfermo*, collaborations which were unknown

[1] (1) *Antîoco y Seleuco*, (2) *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, (3) *El defensor de su agravio*, (4) †*El Eneas de Dios*, (5) †*En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza*, (6) *La fuerza de la ley*, (7) *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, (8) *Los jueces de Castilla*, (9) **El mejor par de los doce*, (10) *†*El príncipe prodigioso*, (11) *Las travesuras de Pantoja*, (12) **Travesuras son valor*, (13) *El valiente justiciero.*

to the critic, the list would have been fifteen. With a liberal interpretation of the term "historical," I can find only nine aside from the two last mentioned: (1) *Antíoco y Seleuco*, (2) *La fuerza de la ley*, (3) *Los jueces de Castilla*, (4) *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, (5) **Travesuras son valor*, (6) *El valiente justiciero*, (7) **El mejor par de los doce*, (8) **El príncipe perseguido*, and (9) **†El príncipe prodigioso*. The last three of these, it will be noted, were written in collaboration, and definite dramatic sources can be found for all except the first three. Furthermore, in the case of *Los jueces de Castilla* and *La fuerza de la ley*, there is good reason to suppose as immediate sources plays which are now lost. Indeed, as we have had occasion to point out previously, Menéndez y Pelayo felt Moreto's *Los jueces de Castilla* so close to the original that he included it in his edition of Lope de Vega's works in lieu of the lost one which is mentioned in the second list of *El peregrino*.[2] In the case of *La fuerza de la ley* Schaeffer cites from Lope de Vega's *El marqués de Mantua* a passage which explains the discrepancy of the close of Moreto's story with the version of history and suggests a lost source as explanation of this change.[3] Thus, it is possible only in the case of three out of the eleven that Moreto drew his material from non-dramatic sources.

Nor can it be claimed that Moreto attained unmixed success in the revision of any of those historical plays whose source we can trace. Only in *Cómo se vengan los nobles* has he dared to deviate from his sources. And while all of those reworked gain in regularity of plot, **El mejor par de los doce* and **†El príncipe prodigioso* fail utterly in that Lope's epic protagonists have dwindled to the proportions of Philip IV's court. The revision of **Travesuras son valor* is even more unsatisfactory because the stark tragedy of the original has been replaced by an entirely banal ending; and *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, *El valiente justiciero*, and **El mejor par de los doce* have lost the noble poetry of their sources.

Aside from Moreto's deficiencies in the lyric and the tragic,—

[2] In addition to the evidence which that illustrious critic has adduced (*Las obras de Lope de Vega*, Vol. VII, *Estudio preliminar*, pp. clxxvii-clxxxix) to prove that Moreto's play is very close to the original, one may point out further that the high percentage of *redondillas* (67%) and the sixty lines of *arte mayor* (II, p. 6) find no parallel in Moreto's entire theatre, and furthermore, that the comic element is not fused with the main plot as ordinarily happens in his theatre.

[3] Schaeffer, *Op. cit.*, II, p. 174.

factors that assuredly link up with our author's failure in the heroic play,—it is not improbable that his Italian ancestry may in part explain his lack of success in this genre. There is no evidence that the fires of patriotism, local or national, ever flamed high in Moreto's breast. That deeply-ingrained nationalism which pervades the plays of Lope de Vega is never felt in our dramatist's theatre. Moreto is thoroughly cosmopolitan. He not only does not create an opportunity (as does Lope so frequently) to praise his country at the expense of another but he even rejects the occasion when it is offered. †*La gala de nadar* is to me a doubtful play, but the following conversation is so characteristic of Moreto's point of view that I cannot forbear quoting it:

FLORA: ¿Cómo por España os fué?
RAMÓN: Es estremado país.
FLORA: ¿Aficionados venís?
RAMÓN: Aficionados, no sé,
porque tengo para mí
que el mundo, cuál más, cuál menos,
componen malos y buenos,
pues las mismas cosas ví.
Hay sabios e ignorantes;
hay cuerdos, Flora, y hay locos,
falsos muchos, finos pocos . . .
. . . . . .
Hombres que se tratan bien
y hombres que se tratan mal,
unos que dan bien por mal
y otros que dan mal por bien, ...[4]

In the florid praise of Madrid which is to be found in **Nuestra Señora de la Aurora* (III, pp. 258–259), I cannot but see the local enthusiasm of a collaborator. On the other hand, the comedies of this Spanish-Italian playwright are equally devoid of any enthusiasm for Italy or Milan, a city which is characterized by Flora (**Hacer remedio el dolor*, p. 44 a.) as one of "flores" and "tramas."

In the novelesque, Moreto was even less successful. The thirteen listed in this group, five of which are exclusively his, are improbable in plot, inconsistent and colorless in characterization, devitalized and devoid of emotional sincerity in dialogue. As an admirer of Moreto I should gladly remove them all from his theatre, salvaging to his credit only the rollicking scene of the lawsuit in *Las travesuras*

[4] *La gala de nadar*, I, p. 170.

de Pantoja (III, 6), the unusual character of Rosela in †*La gala de nadar* (if this be his), and an occasional comic dialogue between servants such as that in *Fingir y amar* (II, p. 19) where Cantueso imitates the courtly mode in order to win the favor of his enamorata Lucinda. Everywhere it is evident that Moreto lacked that lyrical magic which enables the romanticist to spin a gossamer web of poetry from the unreal and the improbable. He was too matter-of-fact, too reflective, too old in outlook to believe in his own fairy tales. Hence, the lack of gusto that the modern feels on reading them.

On the other hand, such comedies of intrigue as *Trampa adelante* or *El Parecido en la corte* are, among their kind, the best that the Spanish stage of the seventeenth century can offer. Here are situations in which the poor protagonists, swaying now this way, now that on the ropes of chance and mistaken identity, make their way to an appointed landing—to the immense relief of an audience which has held its breath for some three hours; *graciosos*, not over-scrupulous ones, who by their cleverness and good humor win the onlooker's sympathy and even his admiration; dialogue that sparkles with puns and equivocal remarks. Furthermore, here are plays which call for neither the tragic nor the heroic,—nor the lyric, so essential to the expression of the one or the other type; plays which, though as improbable as the novelesque, are openly farsical and need, therefore, conform only to the elastic mould of the genre; plays which give the author's sense of humor full swing. In a word, here are comedies which are thoroughly suited to Moreto. It is not surprising that *Trampa adelante* and *El Parecido en la corte* have remained prime favorites on the Spanish stage for nearly three centuries, and that our dramatist has had to father the progeny of dramatists less talented. At least nine plays in this group must be considered doubtful or apochryphal.

It is, however, on those comedies classed as plays of character and idea that Moreto's fame must finally rest. In these, as in his plays of intrigue, there are interesting situations skilfully directed to a satisfactory climax and dialogue that is, as a rule, delightfully natural. But one finds more. Moreto has shown consummate art in introducing his characters, in analysing their motives, and in presenting them before us as human beings who are consistent in thought and deed. Characterization, action, and idea go hand in hand to form a play of symmetry and beauty.

It is this harmony of the part with the whole which is the most distinctive feature of Moreto's secular theatre; and it is a love of balance and decorum and a dislike of the bizarre and the extreme which not only explain his choice of subject and the success or lack of it that he attained in certain genres, but which also, as we have seen, determined even the details of his craftsmanship.

2. His Popularity and Influence at Home and Abroad

While any accurate estimate of Moreto's influence must remain a task for the future, it will not be amiss here to give some general ideas concerning the dramatist's popularity in his own day and in the centuries that have followed. Señor Cotarelo y Mori, in listing the plethora of manuscripts, *sueltas*, and collections that have been made of Moreto's comedies,[5] bears eloquent testimony to the pleasure which our author gave the reading public of Spain of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. If further evidence were necessary, one might point to the long list of plays which have been falsely attributed to him by enterprising book-dealers.[6]

That this popularity lasted throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may be proved by the annals of María Ladvenant[7] and Isidoro Maíquez.[8] In the life of the latter we find by actual count that between the years 1793–1818, his company staged *El desdén con el desdén* 32 times; *No puede ser*, 30; *El Parecido en la corte*, 28; *El valiente justiciero*, 19; *De fuera vendrá*, 17; *El lindo Don Diego*, 16; **El príncipe perseguido*, 14; **La fuerza del natural*, 10; *Antíoco y Seleuco*, 8. Most of Moreto's inferior dramas were tried out from one to five times. Of the 70 plays of the Golden Age which Don Bernardo de Iriarte considered suitable for representation in 1767, 11 are Moreto's.[9] In this same list are included 21 of Calderón's, 7 of Rojas', 3 of Lope's, 1 of Alarcón's and none of Tirso's. There seems reason to conclude, then, that Tick-

[5] See *Bibliografía de Moreto*. There are still others in the library of the University of Pennsylvania and in the Ticknor collection of the Boston Public Library which are not there included.

[6] See Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, pp. 10–18, 40–43) and pp. 7–13 of this study.

[7] Cotarelo y Mori, *Estudios sobre la historia del arte escénico en España, María Ladvenant y Quirante*, Madrid, 1896.

[8] Cotarelo y Mori, *Isidoro Maíquez y el teatro de su tiempo*, J. Perales y Martínez, 1902.

[9] See Cotarelo y Mori, *Iriarte y su época*, Madrid, 1897, p. 67.

nor's statement concerning the seventeenth century, "of those that divided the favor of the public with their great master [Calderón], none stood so near to him as Agustín Moreto," would hold equally well for the eighteenth century.

I have no figures for the middle of the nineteenth century. Ochoa[10] in 1838 characterizes *El lindo Don Diego* as "one of the comedies which still cause most laughter in our theatre" and *El desdén con el desdén* as "undoubtedly the best comedy which our language possesses." In connection with *El valiente justiciero* he has occasion to speak of "the immense popularity which this comedy *enjoys*." And in 1856, Fernández-Guerra could say, "Pocos de sus contemporáneos tienen tantas comedias que se puedan hoy poner en escena sin necesidad de alterarlas ni refundirlas."[11]

There were revisions and imitations, nevertheless. *El Parecido en la corte* was in the seventeenth century made to conform to the literary unities and the moral proprieties of the day by Don Tomás Sebastián y Latre. *El valiente justiciero* had according to Cotarelo[12] three nineteenth century versions: one by Don Dionisio Solís, another by Don José Fernández-Guerra, and the third by Don Calixto Boldún. *Yo por vos y vos por otro* was in 1826 revised by Don José Fernández-Guerra as *Ir contra el viento*. *El Caballero*, reworked by a certain "P. V. del L.," may be found in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Municipal,[13] dated 1833, as *A cada paso un acaso*, o *El Caballero*. **La fuerza del natural* became in 1827 under Bretón de los Herreros' clever hand *El príncipe y el villano* while *Las travesuras de Pantoja* so struck Zorrilla that he offered it to the public as *La mejor razón la espada*. D. M. Catalina reworked *El Licenciado Vidriera* in 1852, including it in a collection entitled *El teatro* (See British Museum catalogue).

Out of Spain, one may point to the various translations and adaptations. Sebastián y Latre's version of *El Parecido en la corte* was in 1770 translated into French as *Le ressemblance* and included in the three-volume collection, *Théatre Espagnol*. *El desdén con el desdén* was put into German at least twice during the nineteenth century.C. A. West in 1819 adapted it as *Donna Diana* and Dohrn[14]

[10] *Tesoro del teatro español*, Paris, 1838, Vol. IV, pp. 249, 279, 308.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

[12] Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 39.

[13] Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 21.

[14] Pseud. of Joseph Schreyvogel; the play was published in Leipzig. See *Spanische Dramen Übersetzt*, 1843, Vol. II.

translated it in 1843 as *Trotz wider Trotz*. It also found its way (1870) into Hungarian as *Közönyt közönynyel* through the offices of V. György. Already in 1862, it had been turned into French by Habeneck as *Dédain pour dédain*. *El lindo Don Diego* was in 1858 published in Italian as *Don Diego, il damerino*[15] and in 1876 in Hungarian as *A Szép Diego*. *El valiente justiciero* was also translated into German by Dohrn in 1843 and included in his *Spanische Dramen Übersetzt;* in 1858 it was published in Italian as *Il valente giudice* with the version of *El lindo Don Diego* just mentioned. In 1898 Gassier offered **Caer para levantar* to the French reading public as *San Gil de Portugal*. Moreover, it has been asserted that Moreto's influence may be seen in the works of the Italians, Carlos Gozzi and Rafael Tauro; of the Frenchmen Molière, Linguet, Thomas Corneille, Scarron, Dumaniant and Marivaux; of the Englishman John Crowne; and of the German Schroeder.[16]

* * *

Literary history has not been so kind to Moreto as the dramatic public. For a century and a half it made no effort to discover the facts of his life. When Ochoa would write the first biography of him in 1838, he could find no source of information other than "an illustrious gentleman of Toledo worthy of all confidence" who supplied him with the few references that are to be found in the life of Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval. Since Ochoa's day, Fernández-Guerra and others have added to our knowledge of the facts of Moreto's life, but estimates as to his place in literary history have varied according to the temper and nationality of the critic.

German authorities, loud in their admiration for the exalted themes of Calderón and for the staggering imagination of Lope, cannot forgive Moreto for his deficiencies in these respects. His crime is that he has been content with a low aim. Schaeffer reluctantly accords him the sixth and last place among the heroes of the Spanish drama[17] but finds that even his masterwork is the product of a dapper Don Diego: "es ist ein psychologisch fein angelegtes, geistvoll aufgebautes Drama, aber die grossen Gedanken und Situ-

[15] See *Teatro scelto spagnuolo*, Vol. V, Torino, 1858.

[16] See Hurtado y Palencia, *Op. cit.*, pp. 732–736; Gassier, *Op. cit.*, pp. 347–353; Enrico Carrara' *Studio sul teatro Ispano-veneto di Carlo Gozzi*, pp. 47–54; Alonso Cortés' edition of Moreto, *Clásicos castellanos*, Madrid, 1919, p. 28. I have not attempted to verify any of these statements.

[17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 186–187.

ationen, sowie die Sprache tiefer Leidenschaft, welche die besten Dramen Lope de Vega's, Tirso's, Alarcón's, Calderón's und Rojas auf den höchsten Gipfel der Poesie erheben, suchen wir vergebens. . . . Seine Characterzeichnung is oft sorgfältig, bis ins Einzelne ausgemalt und psychologisch richtig, aber grosse kühne Umrisse wird man—seinem Naturell gemäss—nicht bei ihm finden." Jünemann[18] is even harsher:

"Y entre los méritos de Moreto ¿cuál puede conquistarle una corona? ¿La buena disposición de sus fábulas? Para ello, no es menester un talento levantado. ¿La inteligencia, la cultura, la severidad moral? Valen ellas, estéticamente, menos todavía. ¿El aire académico, el tono de selecta sociedad? En el drama son vicios, porque le quitan la naturalidad, la animación, la vida. Múdanlo en fríos y fastidiosos diálogos de gentes que piensan y estudian lo que van a decir y que no hablan a impulsos del sentimento y del corazón. Por esto, falto de inventiva, falto de característica, falto de fuerza, falto de riqueza en el diálogo, en el verso, Moreto escribe comedias muy francesas, incoloras y desleídas, muy femeniles y de salón."

And, indeed, French criticism, recognizing in Moreto's careful workmanship "that instinct for perfection which was only too rare with Spanish dramatists of the Golden Age,"[19] has evidently felt him a kindred spirit. Sismondi, Gassier, and Viel-Castel are all loud in their praises. The last of these calls him:[20] "le premier incontestablement des poètes dramatiques de son pays après les deux grands hommes que nous venons de nommer [Lope and Calderón], ne leur est même inférieur peut-être que par une circonstance qui affecte plûtot sa personne que ses ouvrages. Il parâit avoir été dépourvu de cette fecondité inventive qui les distinguait si éminemment."

Spanish critics of Moreto, while granting Moreto's plagiaristic tendencies, have in general interpreted them as a result of dramatic conditions of the day rather than as a lack of creative imagination.[21] They have, moreover, been content to point out his virtues

[18] Guillermo Jünemann, *Hist. de la lit. esp. y antología de la misma*, Friburgo de Brisgovia, 1921, p. 65.

[19] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega*, III, Madrid, 1922, p. 229.

[20] *Essai sur le théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1882, Vol. II, pp. 39–40.

[21] See Fernández-Guerra, *Op. cit.*, pp. xii-xiii and Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

and his defects without giving their dictum as to relative values. It is a question of difference and not necessarily of inferiority.[22]

If Moreto's work is placed in comparison with that of Lope, Tirso, Calderón, or Rojas, one cannot deny that they surpass him in creative imagination and in wealth of lyric expression. One must admit, moreover, as we have seen, that the author of *El desdén con el desdén* had no talent for the epic, the historic, or the tragic, and, in so doing, concede that he had not the versatility of the men just mentioned. He stands nearer to Alarcón in spirit than to any of the other dramatists of the Golden Age. With him he shares a tendency to moralize, a talent for plot-construction and for logical characterization, a predilection for straightforward dialogue; but one does not feel in his comedies that depth of emotional nature that is discernible in those of the Mexican dramatist. He has, moreover, occasionally paid tribute to the age by including conceptistic arguments. On the other hand, he is, for me, superior to Alarcón in his portrayal of women, in his sense of the comic, and in his use of the didactic.

Of the six dramatists, Moreto is nearest the early nineteenth century. E. Martinenche, after pointing out that the great contribution of the Spanish *comedia* to the European theatre was the introduction of idealized love and honor as mainsprings of dramatic action, laments the fact that only too often the protagonist's behavior is not in accord with his noble sentiments, that his love lacks profundity, sincerity, and constancy, and that as a result the characterization seems inconsistent and the action incomplete. "C'est le grand défaut de la *comedia* espagnole; elle ne donne que des indications. Elle esquisse un caractère ou un sentiment sans jamais le pousser jusqu'au bout, et elle va se perdre dans des complications d'intrigue qui risquent d'étouffer ou de cacher sa véritable originalité."[23] It is just this fault which Moreto felt so keenly and just this defect which he sought to remedy. He has created characters who do not offend modern sensibilities by their inconsistencies or their bad taste. He has put these idealized men and women in an atmosphere of intellectuality where they seemingly

[22] This impartiality may be seen in Romera-Navarro, *Hist. de la lit. esp.*, Heath and Co., U.S.A., 1928, pp. 374–378; Hurtado y Palencia, *Hist. de la lit. esp.*, Madrid, 1921, pp. 735–736; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1922, pp. 229–230.

[23] *La comedia espagnole en France*, Paris, 1901, pp. 98–99.

work out their own destinies and thus bring the play to a natural close. If in his better plays he borrowed his materials, he was singularly independent in his use of them. He stood apart from the Calderonian current, rejecting both the extremes of the *pundonor* and the bombastic dialogue that characterize the tragedies of that school, the abuses of disguise and the overcomplication of plot that mar its comedies. Indeed, he may be considered the precursor of modern Spanish comedy. From Moreto to Moratín there is but a step—the step from poetry to prose.

APPENDIX

1. The Authenticity of Certain Plays of Moreto

A. "comedias" whose authenticity is doubtful on the basis of external evidence

*La adúltera penitente

When *La adúltera penitente* (the story of Santa Teodora) was first printed in the *Parte IX* of the *Escogidas* (Pedro Rodríguez, Madrid, 1657), it was attributed to Cáncer, Moreto, and Matos. Juan Sanz, of the early eighteenth century, likewise published a *suelta*, ascribing it to the same three men. There is, according to Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 19), a manuscript of Dec. 27, 1669 in the Biblioteca Nacional which attributes the play to Moreto alone, and Durán (Paz y Melia, *Piezas manuscritas*, p. 14) had apparently seen a play entitled *Santa Teodora* which bears Calderón's name. Such a manuscript was extant in Vera Tassis' time, for it is listed by him as one of the apochryphal plays ascribed to Calderón. Hartzenbusch (*B.A.E.*, Vol. VII, p. xxvi), following Vera Tassis, lists it among the manuscripts incorrectly attributed to the great dramatist. There is no reference in La Barrera (*Catálogo*), Schaeffer (*Geschichte*), nor Pérez Pastor (*Documentos*) to any such play by Calderón. I have not from this side of the Atlantic been able to locate its present hiding place—if it exists today.

In November of 1651, Sebastián de Prado made arrangements with the city of Toledo to represent among others the "new play," *Santa Teodora*. (See Cotarelo, *Sebastián de Prado*, Madrid, 1916, p. 78). If this is Moreto's *comedia*, as Cotarelo suggests, the play was to have been given again on February 28, 1658 (this time under the name of *La adúltera penitente*), but the performance was postponed when the Marqués de Eliche carried away two of the actresses to practice a *zarzuela* for representation before the king. (See Rennert, *Op. cit.*, p. 198.)

Adolfo de Castro has attempted to prove that the play is by Calderón, particularly the first half and the first scenes of Act III (*Una joya desconocida de Calderón*, Cadiz, 1881, 48 pp.). It is not to him impossible that Moreto (or even Matos or Cáncer) may have collaborated with Calderón in the remainder of the play. Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 20) concedes that the first act may be Calderón's, but feels that Act II is characteristic of Moreto and Act III of Matos. Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxix) is likewise of the opinion that Act II is Moreto's. His argument rests primarily on the six-syllable *endechas* in the last half of Act II which satirize the Church: these, he declares, cannot have been written by either Matos or Cáncer "ingenios más ampulosos y gongorinos."

I am inclined to think the play is the product of collaboration, not of a single hand. In favor of this point of view, one may point out the changing conception of the *gracioso:* the ebullient Morondo of the latter half is certainly a contrast to the staid moralizer of the first scenes. The stress on the lyrical in the first half of the play, the declamatory dialogue (with

its exclamatory parenthetical asides), the grave philosophical tone of certain portions: such details point positively toward Calderón as the author of the first half of the play. One might note further that the conception of a voluntarily adulterous heroine is rare among Moreto's situations, though not unknown in his religious theatre.

It seems equally improbable to me that Moreto wrote the second act or even the last half of it. He was not given to satire on the Church, and as Mr. Morley has pointed out (*Op. cit.*, p. 163), he has ordinarily avoided six-syllable *endechas* except in very brief songs. They are, on the contrary, quite in the humor of the festive Cáncer or even of Matos, both of whom on occasion wrote delightful verses in short lines. One finds 22 *quintillas* in the third act (pp. 24, 29). If Matos did not use *quintillas*, as Mr. Morley thinks (*Op. cit.*, p. 172), then the third act would not be his, but Moreto's. Positively, one may note in favor of Moreto's authorship of this act, a tendency of the *gracioso* to coin a verb from a proper name. (See *morondear* from Morondo, p. 26). I am inclined then to attribute the first half of the play to Calderón, the last half of the second act to Cáncer or Matos, and the third to Moreto, but the proof on which such conclusions rest is slender.

†*La cautela en la amistad*

This comedy, first printed in the *Parte XLIII de diferentes autores* (Zaragoza 1650) by Juan de Ibarra with the title of *Lo que merece un soldado*, is also known as *La cautela en la amistad* and *Cautelas son amistades*. Moreover, the catalogue of Medel (Madrid, 1735, p. 35) cites a comedy, *Los dos Carlos*, which La Barrera concludes is the same. The play is attributed to Godínez under the title *Cautelas son amistades* in two editions of the seventeenth century, and under this title was represented by Juan Martínez before the king on Sept. 13, 1635. (See Rennert, *Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama*, *Modern Language Review*, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 331–341.)

Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxx) describes it thus: "diabólicamente confuso, complicado e inverosímil el argumento, los caracteres todos falsos, y de ellos, aun bajos y repugnantes." Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 22), discussing its attribution to Godínez, declares: ". . . la dejamos a nombre de Moreto porque nos parece suya por el carácter del gracioso y porque no parece del estilo o género usual en Godínez." Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 437), on the contrary, saw in it a comedy "dem Stile des letztern [Moreto] entspricht es jedoch keineswegs, wohl aber der Schreibweise unsers Godínez in seiner spätern Periode."

In my opinion, Moreto did not write this comedy. I do not believe our author, even at the immature age of seventeen, was guilty of a plot so confused and so wholly episodic nor of feminine characters so repugnant and so lacking in decorum. One may point out in regard to the versification that two acts end in *redondillas* instead of *romances* and that the last act employs only two metres, *redondilla* and *romance*.[1] Finally, one

[1] Nevertheless, such poverty of versification within the act itself, though rare, is not unknown in Moreto's theatre. See *La fuerza de la ley* (II), *La misma conciencia*

finds in it none of Moreto's peculiar metaphors or turns of phrases. I do not feel that I know Godínez' work sufficiently well to assert that the work is his, but the characteristics are certainly those of his epoch rather than of Moreto's.

‡*Dejar un reino por otro*
and
**No hay reino como el de Dios*

As Cotarelo points out (*Bibl.*, pp. 24–25), there are two distinct versions of *Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid*, both of which are ordinarily linked with Moreto's name. The one, which we shall label "the first," is ordinarily known by the title just given; the other by *No hay reino como el de Dios*. Though dealing with the same general subject, they are so different in development as to justify us in considering them as entirely separate plays.

Of the first comedy, there are three manuscripts (with some variants), all belonging to the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth. It was first printed (under the title *Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid*) by Roque Rico de Miranda in *Parte XLIV* of the *Escogidas* (Madrid, 1678) as the work of Cáncer, Villaviciosa, and Moreto. There are also various *sueltas*. The editions of Leefdael (No. 236, Sevilla, undated) and of Juan López (Murcia, undated, 35 pp.) attribute the play to Agustín Moreto alone. I have not seen the first of these; the second does not carry in its final lines the name of any author. The Viuda de José de Orga published this same version as the work of Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva (No. 10, Valencia, 1761) under the name *Los tres soles de Madrid*. And, finally, it has been ascribed in a *suelta* to Matos Fragoso, a mistake on Barbosa's part according to Salvá (*Catálogo* I, p. 587). However, see La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p. 241) on this point. Medel attributes the play to "tres ingenios."

There are likewise three manuscripts of *No hay reino como el de Dios;* however, all carry the title *Los mártires de Madrid*. One of these bears the date 1670. This second version has been printed as the work of Cáncer, Moreto, and Matos by Antonio Sanz (No. 67, Madrid, 1730, 16 leaves) with the title *No hay reino como el de Dios y mártires de Madrid;* it carries their names in the concluding lines. There are also editions of this play by Diego López de Haro (Sevilla, 31 pp., undated) and by the Herederos de Tomás López de Haro, which print the play as by "tres ingenios." I have not seen the first of these; the second, though attributed to "tres ingenios" on the title page, carries the names of Cáncer, Moreto, and Matos in its concluding lines.

Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 25) states that both comedies are derived from Lope de Vega's *Los mártires de Madrid*, published by Pedro Blusón in a *Parte XXXIX*, Huesca, 1634. Study of the three plays involved leads me to the conclusion that only *Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid* has any

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acusa (I), and *Las travesuras de Pantoja* (III), all of which use only the two verse forms.

direct connection with Lope's work. Moreover, there is nothing in this comedy that would point to it as Moreto's handiwork. The style is not characteristic of him, in that it is extremely culteranistic; nor the method of revision, in that he has not reduced the number of characters to a minimum. Furthermore, the reader will find none of those quips of the *gracioso* which he comes to expect in Moreto's theatre. In the versification, one may point out the double *laisses* of *romances* (*e-a, o-o*) in Act I and the author's predilection for the seven-syllable line in his couplets. I shall not attempt to solve the problem of authorship; to do so would be impossible without a collation of texts and manuscripts. To one who possesses only superficial knowledge of Monroy, it seems not unlike his work.

If *Dejar un reino por otro* should be Monroy's work, then the play *No hay reino como el de Dios* should probably be placed after 1648 (the date of Monroy's death) inasmuch as it is not a revision of Lope's work but of *Dejar un reino por otro*. The general tone qualities of this later comedy, as well as the use that the author has made of his sources, would indicate that Moreto had a hand in reworking the play. It is difficult, however, to say just which part should be attributed to him. Act III seems slightly more characteristic in its versification and in the omnipresent rôle which the *gracioso* plays. The bombastic description of a battle, as well as certain matters of versification (predilection for *romances*, absence of *quintillas*, use of double *laisses* of *romances* without intervening metre on p. 8) would point to Matos as the author of the first act. I do not feel that my knowledge of the work of Cáncer or Villaviciosa is sufficient to entitle me to venture an opinion in regard to the part which one or the other may have had in it.

†*En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza*

Included in the so-called *Verdadera tercera parte* of Benito Macé (Valencia, 1676), which is, as Cotarelo has shown in his *Bibliografía* (pp. 15-18), an apochryphal edition made up of *sueltas*, this play is, in a seventeenth-century manuscript, attributed to one Juan de Lemus under the title *Nadie pierda la esperanza*. Cotarelo considers the name Juan de Lemus that of the owner. Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 160) concludes that it is a pen name which Moreto may have assumed in order to escape the Inquisition, since the plot in its dénouement could hardly have been acceptable to the Church. La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p. 210) presents the problem but does not attempt to solve it.

The conclusion of the edition of 1676, which, according to Cotarelo, is taken from the *suelta* of Juan Sanz, is as follows:

> Esta historia es verdadera,
> y pues vemos que esto pasa,
> "*en el mayor imposible*
> *nadie pierda la esperanza.*"
> Y Don Agustín Moreto
> no la pierde; que a esas plantas
> quien humilde el perdón pide
> con facilidad le alcanza.

But the manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2276), which attributes the comedy to Juan de Lemus and which belongs to the end of the seventeenth century according to Paz y Melia (*Piezas manuscritas*, p. 349), has for its concluding lines:

Y el autor la escribió a instancias
del mismo don Manuel
. . . . . .
y pues vemos que se casa
aunque cerquen imposibles,
nadie pierda la esperanza;
ni yo la quiero perder
de alcanzar perdón de faltas.

This manuscript may have found its way into print, for Schaeffer states (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 160): "Der Verfasser besitzt ein Exemplar dieses Stücks mit dem umgekehrten Titel: *Nadie pierda la esperanza en el mayor imposible* in einer anscheinend etwa 1640 gedruckten Comödiensammlung." I cannot place this collection.

Neither have I been able to determine the identity of Don Juan de Lemus.[2] However, I do not believe the play is Moreto's. The setting is Portuguese, and the author apparently possessed intimate knowledge concerning the city of Faro (See mention of *el soto del Gomero*, III, 7, p. 635). Furthermore, the plot is no way characteristic. The situation is quite novelesque in type and is, moreover, one which would certainly merit the condemnation of the Church. The protagonist, Don Manuel, would renounce his priestly robes in order to marry a certain Doña Ana, but escape seems impossible. Suddenly he discovers that at birth he was baptized with "rose water" instead of the "natural water" which the Church prescribes. Since the first sacrament, which is prerequisite to all others, was incorrectly administered, he concludes that his vows are null and void. Thus he hastily disengages himself from the bonds of the Church in order to assume those of matrimony. It is a plot, too, in whose mechanics one does not feel that logical drive toward a logical end which is so characteristic of Moreto.

In regard to the characters, one may point out, as in no wise characteristic of our author, a hero who lightly renounces his religious vows, who without compunction kills a rival while wearing priestly garb, and who, finally, marries the sister of his victim. Moreover, Doña Ana in her vigor of spirit is much nearer in type to the heroines of Lope than to those of Moreto, and the dialogue, both of the *gracioso* and of the heroine, exhibits a lack of delicacy which is seldom to be found in Moreto's theatre. Finally, Don Rodrigo is a superfluous character, and superfluous characters are rare with Moreto.

[2] In *Romance del rey sin reino* (See Restori, *Piezas de títulos*, p. 41) one reads:

Al renegado del cielo
quiso Lemos imitar
si *Luis Pérez el gallego*
no le dice la verdad.

The first two lines could well apply to our comedy, given its unorthodox conclusion.

As to the metre, one may note that the percentage of *redondillas* (48%) is unusually large,[3] that Act I has only two metres (*romance* and *redondilla*), and that one finds *romances* of assonance *e-o* incrusted in other *romances* of *o*. Finally, the type of *silva* (aAbBcC) is not characteristic of our author. The metre and characterization would point to Montalbán's epoch rather than to Moreto's.

‡*Escarramán*

Escarramán, comedia burlesca que se hizo en el Buen Retiro. First printed in the *Parte XXXVII* of the *Escogidas* (Melchor Alegre, Madrid, 1671), it is not here ascribed to Moreto, according to Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 27. This volume, however, can not be trusted. Matos Fragoso, who wrote the dedication for it, has incorrectly attributed at least five of the twelve comedies included. The supposition that Moreto wrote this burlesque rests on the following facts: The catalogue of Medel (1735) cites it as his work, listing at the same time an anonymous *Los zelos de Escarramán*, which La Barrera supposes to be identical with the comedy in question. A seventeenth century manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (See Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 27), which carries the title *Los celos de Escarramán, comedia burlesca de Moreto*, substantiates La Barrera's conclusions. The title has no relationship whatsoever with the contents of the work.

In my opinion, the play, which is a satire on the *capa y espada* comedy with its duels, its cruel brothers, its ladies disguised in men's clothing, its conventional ending where all are so arbitrarily paired off, is not Moreto's. In the first place, it is the only one of this genre among his long plays. There are, moreover, none of the remarks that ordinarily characterize Moreto's *graciosos*, and the versification is in no wise what one would expect. There is not one of Moreto's indisputable works which shows only three verse forms: *romances* (66%), *redondillas* (30%), and *octavas* (4%). Neither is there one in his whole theatre which does not include either *silvas* or *pareados*. Finally, Moreto consciously avoids the use of different series of assonances without intervening metre. Yet in Act II, pp. 361–363, we find three such *laisses: e-o, e-a, o-a.*

There are references within the play to Olmedo, San Martín, and perhaps to Cáncer that I find difficult to interpret. The Barber, a spirit from the other world, is talking to the Governor (II, pp. 364–365):

GOBERNADOR: ¿Quién eres, pálida sombra?
BARBERO: El Barbero soy que vuelvo
a ser en esta comedia
el muerto casamentero.
San Martín me dió la muerte
en la comedia de Olmedo
donde ha un año que padezco

[3] *La confusión de un jardín* (50%), *El príncipe prodigioso* (52%), *El rosario perseguido* (61%), and *Los jueces de Castilla* (67%) stand higher in their percentages of *redondillas* than *En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza*, but I consider the first three doubtfully attributed and the fourth merely a revision of one of Lope de Vega's (now lost) which has kept the *redondillas* of the original.

y donde estoy condenado
a venir en cualquier tiempo
a hacer en toda comedia
de San Martín casamientos.
. . . . . .
Ha, San Martín, San Martín,
¿ dónde estás? Sal aquí, puerco,
y pues por tu causa ahora
en el purgatorio peno,
de hoy más, como muerto honrado
a estos señores prometo
que no has de escribir comedia
en que no salga el Barbero.
Señores, ¿hay quien se case?
Respondedme?

GOBER: Señor muerto,
aun la comedia no acaba;
váyase, y vuelva a su tiempo,
que están aquestos señores
averiguando unos celos,
y faltan dos o tres pasos
para dar fin al enredo.
. . . . . .

BARBERO: Para la última jornada
una hora les doy de tiempo;
háganla pues luego. Y tú,
tú, San Martín, poeta seco,
que eres don Quijote en prosa
y eres Sancho Panza en verso,
para todas las comedias
que hicieres, me tienes cierto,
que han de ser, aunque te pese
d*el muerto casamentero.*
. . . . . .
Y acabó la mojiganga
del laureado San Martín;
perdonad, por Dios, sus trampas;
que yo, porque me eterniza
le he de pagar, y la paga
será descasarle luego,
porque su mujer le enfada;
váyase Carnestolendas;
y al purgatorio se vaya
el muerto casamentero;
Dios os dé muy buenas Pascuas.

In Act III (p. 367 and p. 369), we find also these words of the *Gobernador* without context:

Mas válgame Dios, ¿qué es esto?
Sin duda se desencaja
del cielo el signo de Cáncer;
no hay tal prodigio en Samaria.
[*Aparece en un tablado en la parte de las Carnestolendas sobre un carro en un bofetón y en la otra parte en correspondencia el Barbero muerto.*]

. . . . . .

CAR.: Yo soy las Carnestolendas.
BAR.: Yo soy quien las comedias casa
de San Martín.

We read in Rennert (*Op. cit.*, p. 541) concerning Alonso de Olmedo y Tofiño: "In 1638, on Shrove Tuesday, his company took part in the *fiesta* in the Buen Retiro." Now this play was performed in the Retiro as the subtitle shows, and the words of Carnestolendas and others make evident that it was performed at Shrovetide. Were San Martín and perhaps Cáncer actors in Olmedo's company in the year 1638 (or perhaps at some earlier or later Shrovetide celebrations) and had San Martín played in a *mojiganga* of Olmedo entitled *El muerto casamentero* wherein a barber receives his death (a dramatic one as a result of poor acting?) at the hands of San Martín?[4] Cáncer at least did request an *ayuda de costa* in return for having acted a play before the king (See La Barrera, *Op. cit.*, p. 62) and probably would not have felt himself bemeaned to act in the company of Olmedo who was a hidalgo by birth. Did San Martín then borrow the character of the Barbero and is he promising that in future *entremeses* the character will appear? Did he also act the rôle of the Barbero in the play?

Or did Cáncer write this particular play and is he satirizing San Martín, perhaps for having borrowed Olmedo's character, perhaps for having played so badly the rôle in Olmedo's play? Certainly, the comedy is in content thoroughly characteristic of Cáncer. The only works which he did not write in collaboration were the burlesques, *Las travesuras del Cid* and *La muerte de Baldovinos*. Moreover, he published with Juan Vélez de Guevara another of the same kind, *Los siete infantes de Lara*. The percentages of *romances* and *redondillas* are, however, quite different from those of *Las travesuras del Cid*, which has 26% *romances*, 68% *redondillas*, 4% *octavas*.

The evidence is so conflicting that I do not feel that I can with any certainty say who is the author of the play. I am inclined to think it is Cáncer.

[4] There is mention in La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 613) of two *entremeses* by the name *El casamentero*. One starts "Yo pierdo hombres y mujeres. . . ." Both are included in a volume *Tiempo de regocijo y Carnestolendas de Madrid* (Luis Sánchez, Madrid, 1627). La Barrera suggests that they may both be Castillo Solórzano's work. There are also several which include the word *barbero* in their title.

La fingida Arcadia

La fingida Arcadia, first printed in 1666 in the *Parte XXV* of the *Escogidas* (Domingo García y Morrás, Madrid), was written two years before, if Señor Cotarelo y Mori (*Sebastián de Prado*, p. 151) is right in his conjecture that the *Arcadia* which was represented before Philip IV in 1664 was the work attributed to Moreto.

Hartzenbusch included this play in his volume of Calderón because the third act seemed to him characteristic of that author. (See *B.A.E.*, XIV, *notes* to pp. 537 and 545.) Such an opinion coincides with that of Vera Tassis, who ascribes the play, as a whole, to Calderón, Moreto, and "Don N.N." Fernández-Guerra felt that the second act is Moreto's ("en la jornada segunda se hallan algunos rasgos característicos de su estilo." *Op. cit.*, p. xxxiv), whereas Hartzenbusch declares that its style is such as to prove that it is not his. Mr. Morley (*Op. cit.*, p. 168), after studying the versification, reaches the same conclusion as Hartzenbusch: "If the distinguished authors . . . divided their labor up by acts, Moreto certainly did not write the second." In this connection he points out the 68 eight-syllable couplets with which the second act closes and the six-syllable assonants it contains. The lack of *redondillas* in the third act, he feels, substantiates Hartzenbusch's opinion that Moreto did not write the third act either. By elimination, he is author of the first only. Cotarelo (*Op. cit.*, pp. 27–28) observes that in all the editions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the play is printed under Moreto's name alone and concludes that its attribution to Calderón is without foundation.

In this connection we may point out first that the final lines are:

> . . . y así sea
> mi escoger, pedir humilde
> perdón de las faltas nuestras.

It is of course possible to construe the "nuestras" as editorial or as a concession to the exigencies of assonance. However, I cannot believe that the second act is Moreto's. Mr. Morley's observations concerning its versification seem quite valid to me, and I find nothing in the style that is particularly like Moreto's. As for the third act, one must grant that *La vida de San Alejo* is the only play ascribed to Moreto alone which contains an act entirely without *redondillas*. Yet, the *academia* (16, pp. 553–554) in the third act is certainly characteristic of him, as is the story of the mad hidalgo (16, p. 554). Moreover, in changing the dénouement of Lope's play in order to reward the faithful hero, the author of this act is certainly following the usual policy of Moreto. There is nothing in the first act that can be adduced as positive evidence in favor of its attribution to Moreto. One finds in it a fragment of dialogue (quoted on p. 54 of this study) which is thoroughly Calderonian. The *gracioso* throughout the comedy is a very pale figure for one of Moreto's; on the other hand, there is not in any portion the lyrical wealth that one usually associates with plays of Calderón. Such conflicting evidence makes it impossible to say with any degree of surety that such and such an act belongs to Moreto. I am inclined to think the third is his.

†*La fortuna merecida* (*Merecer para alcanzar*)

This comedy was first printed under Moreto's name in the *Parte XLIII* of the *Escogidas* (Antonio González de Reyes, Madrid, 1678) with the title *Merecer para alcanzar* and later in the *Parte tercera* of Moreto (Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681) as *La fortuna merecida*. Under the double name, it it is to be found in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2148). There is, too, a *La fortuna merecida* in the *Parte XI* of Lope de Vega's comedies, a historical play which has no connection with the play attributed to Moreto. Moreover, a work of this title is mentioned in the *Loa sacramental de Lope*, which Restori would place between the years of 1631–1635. (See Restori, *Piezas de títulos*, p. 29.) And finally, from Rennert's *Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama*, we learn that a comedy with the name *Merecer para alcanzar* was represented before the king by Bartolomé Romero on Dec. 8, 1637. Rennert attributes it to Moreto. (Rennert, *Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama*, *Modern Language Review*, 1907, Vol. 3, p. 47.)

It is, of course, not impossible that it should be Moreto's, written at the age of nineteen or earlier. Its percentages of metre (*romances*, 71%; *redondillas*, 21%) could be his and the closing lines might be those of a youngster who timidly awaited the decree of his betters:

> . . . y el poeta,
> si al noble senado ofende
> en querer bañar sus plumas
> donde tantos cisnes beben,
> pide perdón de sus yerros
> si él humilde lo merece.

I cannot, however, believe the comedy is Moreto's work. Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 169) says: "Auch *Merecer para alcanzar* (*La fortuna merecida*) weist keine Spur der Diction Moreto's auf, ebensowenig zeigt die Construction der Fabel seine Hand. Das Stück liest sich, als ob es gegen Ende der ersten Periode geschrieben wäre." Adding to this verdict, based entirely on internal evidence, we may point out that the characterization, particularly that of the queen, has nothing in common with Moreto's generous women and that this play is, in contrast to those of our author, loaded down with classical allusions.

Yet, because of the high percentage of *romances* (71%), I doubt that the work under discussion is the play of 1637 which was represented before the king. It could be a revision of a comedy (now lost to us) which was made some twenty or thirty years after the date mentioned. The other possibility is that the *comedia* in which Bartolomé Romero acted was the old one of Lope de Vega and that the one attributed to Moreto is an entirely independent work.

**La fuerza del natural*

First published in the *Parte XV* of the *Escogidas* (Melchor Sánchez, Madrid, 1661) under Moreto's name alone, it is in the concluding lines of

other editions attributed to Cáncer and Moreto.[5] The edition printed in the collection of Fernández-Guerra concludes:

De Cáncer y de Moreto
fin aquí las plumas dan
probando que en todo sobra
la fuerza del natural.

But in a *suelta* of the Ticknor Library (No. 4, without year nor place; 18 leaves; without pagination),[6] the closing lines are:

Y de Moreto los lauros
fin aquí a su pluma dan
probando que en todo sobra
la fuerza del natural.

There are, moreover, two manuscripts with this title in the Biblioteca Nacional (Nos. 1337 and 1338). The first, which belongs to the end of the seventeenth century, attributes the play to Moreto alone. This play begins "Necio, ¿Qué quieres?" and concludes "la fuerza del natural," lines which are almost identical with those of the *B.A.E.* collection. But the second, written "for Francisco Correa, year 1668," carries the heading "Comedia de Mattos y Cáncer (?)." The opening and closing lines of this comedy are different from those of Fernández-Guerra's edition; according to Paz y Melia (*Op. cit.*, p. 206) it begins "De ti lo que hará mi padre" and concludes "con eso acabado está."

As Mr. Morley points out in his study on the metre of Moreto (pp. 168–169), the versification of the last act is characteristic of Matos (1) in its lack of *redondillas*, (2) in its triple *laisses* of *romances*, and (3) in its paucity of metrical forms. The large percentage of *redondillas* in Act I, as well as the fact that it ends in *redondillas* rather than in *romances*, would in my opinion, point to Cáncer.[7] The burlesque tone of this act could point in the same direction. Act II is characteristic of Moreto in its versification and in the academic exercises of wit which it contains. The problem as to which is the more perfect lover, he who suffers in silence or he who proclaims his sufferings to the world (see II, 9, p. 222), is found also in *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* (I, p. 3). It seems not improbable that the three acts of the play, then, were written respectively by Cáncer, Moreto, and Matos, though the date when the play was first published (1661) would point to Moreto and Matos as the collaborators, since Cáncer died in 1655.

[5] I am unable to tell from the studies of Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 28), Paz y Melia (*Piezas manuscritas*, Nos. 1337 and 1338), Fernández Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxiv), and La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p. 280) just which early edition carries these lines. That of Joseph y Tomás de Orga (Valencia, 1772) attributes it to Moreto and Cáncer.

[6] Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 28) declares it is from the press of Juan Sanz and that it was this edition which was included in the apochryphal collection of Benito Macé, Valencia, 1676. (See Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, pp. 13 and 14.)

[7] Most of Cáncer's plays were written in collaboration. *Las travesuras del Cid* has 68% *redondillas* and 25% *romances*. Aside from some songs and forty-eight verses of octaves, there are no other metres employed.

†*Los hermanos encontrados*

This play, printed in the *Parte XXXVII* of the *Escogidas* (Melchor Alegre, Madrid, 1671) with the title *Satisfacer callando* and there attributed to Moreto, had previously appeared in the *Parte VI de comedias escogidas*, published in Zaragoza by Pedro Lanaja in 1653 with the title *El satisfacer callando, y princesa de los montes*. In this earlier collection it is ascribed to Lope de Vega. In the *Tercera parte* of Moreto (Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681), the play bears the name *Los hermanos encontrados*, but the phrase *satisfacer callando* occurs in the text (III, p. 307). There are in the Biblioteca Nacional three manuscripts, one with the title *Satisfacer callando* (without an author's name), the other two with the name *Los hermanos encontrados*. These last two are identical with the first, except that the closing lines are different. (See Paz y Melia, *Op. cit.*, p. 468.)

La Barrera doubts that the play is the work of Lope de Vega. Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, 169) declares that internal evidence would indicate that it is not the work of either Moreto or Lope de Vega, but rather of a disciple of the latter. My opinion coincides entirely with Schaeffer's. The absurd plot, the poor characterization, the weak rôle of the *gracioso*, the bellicose temperament of the heroine, preclude the possibility of its being the product of Moreto's pen. The versification would point in the same direction. The play has 47% *redondillas* and only 33% *romances*. Moreover, there are in the third act twenty-five lines of blank verse, and the *silvas* that occur in Acts I and III show a high percentage of seven-syllable lines. Finally, Act I ends in *quintillas* and two *laisses* of *romances* (*i-e, a-o*) are run together in I (p. 286). If Mr. Morley is right in thinking that Lope never brings two such series together (See *Op. cit.*, p. 169), then the work must, as Schaeffer has suggested, belong to some minor dramatist of his school rather than to Lope himself.

**La mejor luna africana*

Attributed in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (See Paz y Melia, *Op. cit.*, No. 1929) to nine authors[8] as *La luna africana*, this play has been printed in various *sueltas* as the work of "tres ingenios." (Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 32.) Durán names Calderón as one of the three. See La Barrera, *Cat.*, p. 56.

If Alonso Alfaro was responsible for a portion of this *comedia*, then it was written before 1643, the year of his death. (See La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 12.)

The photostat copy of this, ordered from the Biblioteca Nacional, has not yet reached me, and I am, consequently, unable to give any opinion as to the authorship of the play.

[8] The authors named in order in the concluding verses (See Paz y Melia, *Op. cit.*, p. 298) are: Luis de Belmonte; Luis Vélez, el afamado; Don Juan Vélez; el maestro Alfonso Alfaro; Don Agustín Moreto; Don Antonio Martínez; Antonio Sigler de Huerta; Don Jerónimo Cáncer; Pedro Rosete.

†*La milagrosa elección de San Pío Quinto*

Printed in the *Parte XXXIX* of the *Escogidas* (José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1673) as the work of Moreto, this *comedia* is also found in an undated *suelta* attributed to Montalbán under the name *El cardenal Morón*.[9] Fernández-Guerra rejects its attribution to the author of *Los amantes de Teruel*, declaring it a "necia superchería de los libreros."

There was a *Milagrosa elección de San Pío V* represented before the queen between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 8, 1623. (See Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, p. 236.) Moreover, there is mention in La Barrera (*Op. cit.*, p. 172) of a *La milagrosa elección* attributed to Felipe Godínez, and in Restori (*Piezas de títulos*, p. 101) of *La milagrosa elección de Sesto V* (*La elección por la virtud*), written by Tirso de Molina. The eminent Italian critic suggests the possibility that there was confusion on the scribe's part in making the notation concerning the play which was presented before the queen. Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 183) is of the opinion that Moreto revised an old play, probably one by Claramonte, since there is in the comedy under discussion mention of one Clarindo (II, 14, p. 555) who "makes verses in order to eat."

If the play is by Moreto, it is no doubt a reworking of an earlier comedy. However, I am inclined to see in its attribution to him the good business instincts of the printer José Fernández de Buendía, who in this same volume of the *Escogidas* has placed two plays of Lope de Vega under the name of Moreto and Matos Fragoso, and has erred in at least one other case. (See La Barrera, *Op. cit.*, p. 701.) The play is not characteristic of Moreto in that the *gracioso* is lacking and in that the character of the villain Amadeo shows a cold brutality that is not found in even the rebels of Moreto's religious theatre. Moreover, the punishment of impalement is meted out to Amadeo by the protagonist with all celerity and without any traces of the generous sentimentalism that so ordinarily characterizes Moreto's heroes. Finally, the dialogue is heavily loaded with literary and historical allusions and is without any of those oft-repeated quips of the *gracioso* which the reader of Moreto comes to expect. The versification is characteristic enough of Moreto, but it also differs little in its percentages of *romances* and *redondillas* from such a play as Lope de Vega's *San Isidro*, written in 1622. It seems not unlikely that this *comedia* attributed to Moreto was the play presented before the queen some four years after the

[9] The plays are not identical, however. See Bacon, G. W., *The "comedias" of Montalbán*, *Revue Hispanique*, 1907, pp. 54–55. Bacon considers *El cardenal Morón* a revision of Moreto's *La milagrosa elección* and points out that there are lines in the former which praise Philip II; that the latter play has three characters less than *El cardenal Morón* and that the greatest variation in the two texts is to be found in Act II, though generally the changes affect not more than a half dozen consecutive lines. It does not seem to me at all inevitable (from the data given) that *El cardenal Morón* should be the later form. In fact, from my study of Moreto's methods, my conclusions would have been the reverse of Mr. Bacon's. The photostat copy of this play, ordered from the Biblioteca Nacional, has been delayed.

birth of our dramatist. As I do not have at hand *El cardenal Morón*, I cannot venture an opinion on its relationship to *La milagrosa elección*.

**Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*

In the studies of Cotarelo and Fernández-Guerra, who evidently had in mind the *Escogidas* edition (*Parte XXXIV*, José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1670), this play is attributed to Cáncer and Moreto. However, in the *Parte tercera* of the dramatist's works (Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681), as well as in two *sueltas* which I have seen,[10] the comedy is found under the name of Moreto alone.

Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxviii) is of the opinion that *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora* was written for the festivities which were celebrated in honor of the Virgin of the Aurora from September 27 to October 4, 1648, and he points out, furthermore, that there was a poetic contest for which Cáncer wrote some *romances* and *quintillas*. It is in the last act and part of the first that this critic sees Moreto's hand.

There is reason to think that the work is by two authors, for the heroine Magdalena is, in the first half of the play, the "niece" of Juan Tarro, but in the pages that follow she is the "daughter." Toward the very close of the comedy, she is again the "niece." It seems fairly certain that Cáncer wrote those pages wherein she stands in the relationship of daughter, for it is in these (III, p. 251) that the songs of the blind have been introduced.[11] Moreover, I am inclined to think him responsible for part of Act I, notably the gypsy dance with which the play opens, and also for the last six pages of Act III, even though Magdalena is in both places "niece." The elaborate praise of Madrid in these last pages is not characteristic of Moreto,[12] and it seems probable that the collaborators noted the discrepancy of the heroine's relationship to Juan Tarro in certain pages and failed to do so in others. Moreover, the first part of Act I is not representative of our dramatist in its versification: there are songs of seven lines, and there are two *laisses* of *romances* which are run together without intervening meter. (See p. 229.) In my opinion, only the last part of Act I and the first half of Act II should be attributed to Moreto.

‡*La ocasión hace al ladrón*

The attribution to Moreto of *La ocasión hace al ladrón*, which is plagiarized from Tirso's *La villana de Vallecas*,[13] has been questioned by

[10] (1) No. 340, without year or place, 18 pages foliated (apparently of Juan Sanz) and (2) *Nuestra Señora del Aurora*, José Padrino, Sevilla, without year, 28 pages numbered.

[11] Cáncer "tiene graciosos romances, quintillas de ciego y jácaras"—"De sus entremeses . . . merecen citarse *Los ciegos*, *Los gitanos*, etc." See Hurtado y Palencia, *Hist. de la lit. esp.*, Madrid, 1921, p. 741.

[12] See p. 115 of this study for Moreto's lack of local patriotism.

[13] Published first in the *Primera parte* of *Doce comedias nuevas del Maestro Tirso de Molina*, Madrid, 1627. See La Barrera, *Op. cit.*, p. 387. The play is easily accessible in *B.A.E.*, Vol. V.

Señor Cotarelo y Mori (*Bibl.*, pp. 41–42) and Señor Narciso Alonso Cortés (*Clásicos castellanos*, 1916, pp. 17–18). As they point out, it was first printed in 1667 in *Parte XXVII* of the *Escogidas* under the name of Matos Fragoso, and not until much later[14] was it published as the work of Moreto. Mr. S. G. Morley (*Op. cit.*, p. 172), however, feels that Señor Alonso Cortés' strongest reason for rejecting the authorship of Moreto "seems to be that he dislikes to believe the author guilty of such outrageous plagiarism." The versification, he finds, is "perfectly characteristic of Moreto, far more so than of Matos who does not use *quintillas* . . . ."

A careful analysis of the two plays leads me to agree with the conclusions of the above-mentioned Spanish critics. Aside from the fact that the play was not attributed to Moreto until the eighteenth century and that it was written in 1666[15] at a time when there is reason to think Moreto was not writing plays of intrigue,[16] there are other excellent reasons for excluding the play from Moreto's theatre.

In the first place, Mr. Morley's point concerning the *quintillas* is not a valid one since forty-four of the forty-six that are found in *La ocasión hace al ladrón* are taken verbatim from Tirso's play. The same is true of the 120 octaves which occur in Act I and of a great majority of the *redondillas* which form twenty-one per cent of the play. Moreover, there are evidences of the author's predilection for *verso de romance:* all verses added and all substitutions of one verse form for another are in series of *romances*. These are the characteristics of Matos Fragoso.

There is further internal evidence that the play was not written by Moreto. The plot itself would not have been acceptable to our author. The situation, that of a heroine who follows a recalcitrant lover in order to force him to keep the pledge of matrimony by which he has betrayed her, is rare in our dramatist's theatre.[17]

It is to me inconceivable that Moreto should have sketched the characters of the protagonists. Don Manuel is a rank scoundrel who would have been as repugnant to him as to the modern reader. In Tirso's play, the heroine assumes the disguise of a country maid. In *La ocasión hace al ladrón*, she has become a swashbuckling young student, who, if less free in speech and manners, is nevertheless not at all apologetic for her masculine attire.

The heavy indebtedness of *La ocasión hace al ladrón* to Tirso's comedy was pointed out by Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxix).

[14] The play was included in the apocryphal *Tercera parte*, which bears on the title page the date 1676 and the place Valencia, but which was made up of *sueltas* of the eighteenth century. (See Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 15.)

[15] There is a reference, I, 6, p. 409, to the marriage of the Infanta Margarita to the Emperor Leopoldo, which took place on the 12th of December, 1666.

[16] See pp. 17–22, 24 of this study for the dates of Moreto's plays of intrigue. I cannot agree with Señor Cotarelo's statement that our author "ya no escribía comedias" (*Bibl.*, pp. 41–42).

[17] The plays wherein such a situation occurs must with the exception of *El valiente justiciero* be considered doubtfully attributed. See pp. 71–72 of this study for a discussion of this point.

Finally, the method of revision is not characteristic of Moreto. Our author borrowed freely, it is true, but there is not an instance where he has been so flagrant in his plagiarism.[18] Of the fifty-five scenes of the play, over thirty are virtually identical with Tirso's play. An actual count would probably show that sixty percent or more of the lines have been taken from the original. Indeed in the revision, the very order of scenes is ordinarily the same except for the omission of some twenty which Tirso had used in developing an obtrusive subplot (that of Violante, Don Juan, and Antón) and which the author of *La ocasión hace al ladrón* chose to eliminate. Thereby he was enabled to cut the play from 3945 lines to 2862.

**Oponerse a las estrellas*

This comedy was first printed in the *Escogidas* collection (*Parte V*, Pablo de Val, Madrid, 1653) as the work of three authors, but in the manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (2448), as well as in the various *sueltas*, it is attributed to Matos Fragoso, Don Antonio Martínez de Meneses, and Don Agustín Moreto.

Fernández-Guerra sees in this play proof that the collaborators did not always divide their work by acts, since there are in this case traces of Moreto's pen in all three. Nevertheless, it is the last which for him is particularly characteristic (See *Op. cit.*, p. xxxix). I agree with the Spanish critic that traces of Moreto's handiwork are to be found in all parts, but the competitive exercises of the second act, which end in a dance that calls for colors, recall similar scenes in *El desdén con el desdén*. Furthermore, in this act the rôle of the *gracioso* as a "British" prince is quite Moretean in flavor. On the other hand, the songs of this portion are not characteristic in their length—one being a *quintilla*, the other a six-line assonated song of six syllables. In the first act there are no *quintillas;* if Mr. Morley (*Op. cit.*, p. 172) is right in thinking that Matos Fragoso avoided this verse, then this first act is perhaps the work of the Portuguese dramatist.

If the collaborators divided their work by acts, I am inclined to say that the first is Matos'; the second Moreto's; the third, Martínez de Meneses'.

**El príncipe perseguido*

La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p. 276) says that there is an autograph manuscript of this play in the Biblioteca Nacional which carries the names of Belmonte, Moreto, and Martínez de Meneses, and according to Señor Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 35), one finds at the end of Act II a *censura* of Juan Navarro de Espinosa of date Dec. 21, 1650. The *El perseguido*, then, which was staged in Madrid by Osorio before the end of the theatrical year of 1650 (See Cotarelo, *Sebastián de Prado*, p. 73) was probably the play of Moreto and his collaborators.[19]

[18] The third act of **El bruto de Babilonia* shows a similar lack of literary conscience, but it is surely not the product of Moreto's pen. See p. 154 of this study.

[19] The play of Lope, *Carlos el perseguido*, is also known by this shorter title. There was, moreover, a *comedia* by this name which was acted by Cisneros in 1604. See Rennert, *Spanish stage*, p. 453.

The work was first published at Alcalá, 1651, by María Fernández in *El mejor de los mejores libros* at the expense of Tomás Alfay. In 1653 another volume containing the same plays and with the same title appeared in Madrid, brought out by María de Quiñones at the expense of Manuel López. According to La Barrera (*Op. cit.*, pp. 708–709), the two books are the same, except that the one of earlier date does not carry the names of the authors. Yet Fernández-Guerra, in his analysis of the first volume (*Op. cit.*, p. xlix) omits the name of this play completely while quoting Tomás Alfay in a statement concerning *El príncipe prodigioso* (See our study of this play, p. 139 for quotation) that seems to show clearly that the authorship, even to individual acts, was recorded there. At least in the edition of 1653, it was stated that the first act of *El príncipe perseguido* was written by Luis de Belmonte, the second act by Moreto, and the third by Antonio Martínez. In spite of this edition and of the autograph manuscript, the comedy has been ascribed in a *suelta* of the seventeenth century to "tres ingenios" and in an edition of Seville to Montalbán. Medel lists it as anonymous.

Internal evidence confirms the authenticity of the autograph. The second act of the play is surely Moreto's. The philosophic discourse of Juan Basilio is entirely characteristic of this dramatist. Moreover, many of the favorite expressions of Moreto's *graciosos* are found in this portion of the drama: "Ni la toca, ni la tañe" (p. 15); "Malas Pascuas te dé Dios!" (p. 20); "Estoy hecho una ensalada" (p. 17); "malo, remalo, tataramalo" (p. 19). The percentage of *redondillas* (63%) runs high in this part, but such figures are not unknown in individual acts. (See *El defensor de su agravio*, II, 56% or *La fuerza de la ley*, II, 64%.)

†*El príncipe prodigioso*

According to Fernández-Guerra's edition of the *B.A.E.* (p. xlix), this play was first printed in *El mejor de los mejores libros* (María Fernández, Alcalá, 1651) at the expense of the bookdealer Tomás Alfay who, in his introduction to the reader, says: ". . . como conozco todos los ingenios que escribieron éstas [comedias], me determiné a imprimirlas a mi costa antes que otros las sacasen, quitándoles sus legítimos dueños. Aquí te pongo una tabla de los que escribieron este tomo, y el que escribió jornada sola, también se la atribuyo a quien la escribió." Fernández-Guerra adds: "Se expresa en el índice que es de Don Juan de Matos la mitad desde el principio, y la otra mitad de Don Agustín Moreto."[20]

The play has nevertheless been attributed in *sueltas* to Montalbán, and as a matter of fact there is little, if anything, in the comedy that recalls either Moreto or Matos Fragoso. Without knowledge of its attribution to Montalbán, Fernández-Guerra declares (*Op. cit.*, p. xli): "Si por especula-

[20] I do not find an analysis of the contents of this volume in La Barrera's *Catálogo*. On p. 278 of this invaluable work, I find, however, this note in connection with *El mejor de los mejores libros* (Alcalá, 1651; Madrid, 1653): "En la edición de Alcalá que yo he visto, van las piezas anónimas. El señor Guerra ha manejado otra con expresión de autores."

ción de cómicos y libreros, no se bautizó este engendro miserable con los nombres de Matos y Moreto, únicamente pudiera atribuirse al último la tercera jornada." And, in truth, it occurs to one that Señor Alfay protests his virtue too much.

Our analysis of the versification shows 52% *redondillas* and 36% *romances*, figures that are characteristic of Montalbán's epoch rather than of Moreto's. Furthermore, the reader does not find the expressions of the *gracioso* that he comes to expect in a play of Moreto. On the other hand, the changes in characterization and plot structure that have been made in reworking the *comedia* are thoroughly characteristic of our author's methods. I do not believe that the work is Moreto's. Bacon (*Op. cit.*, p. 62) declares that "it does not read like Montalbán's work."

**El rey don Enrique, el Enfermo*

In a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2903) and in the *Parte IX* of the *Escogidas* (Pedro Rodríguez, Madrid, 1657), this play is attributed to six collaborators, but in a *suelta* of Valencia (No. 125, Viuda de José de Orga, 1768, 32 pp.) it carries the heading "De un ingenio."

Under date of Sept. 22, 1655, one finds the following notation in Barrionuevo's *Avisos* (II, p. 131): "Habrá ocho dias que vino Rosa, el autor de comedias, a esta corte y la primera farsa que ha hecho y que hasta hoy dura es la comedia de Don Enrique, el de la espalda de carnero." It is not stated that the play is a "*comedia nueva*," but the number of days it ran would indicate that it was.

In the copy to which I have had access in the Ticknor Collection of the Boston Public Library, several pages are lacking. Consequently, I do not feel that I can venture an opinion. I may point out, however, that the characterization of the king and queen is like Moreto's; and if one points out its loose structure, one has only to remember that *El valiente justiciero*, another historical play, sins in the same way.

‡*El rosario perseguido*

Attributed in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2942) and in various *sueltas* to Moreto, this play is in other editions[21] ascribed to "un ingenio de esta corte."

Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xli) characterizes the work as unworthy of our author and adds: "Es probable que a escote se bosquejase el drama." Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 182) feels that the play "kann unmöglich von Moreto herrühren. Die Derbheit des Plans und der Ausführung, die fast durchgehends angewendeten Redondillas, das Sprachgepräge der frühesten Nachahmer Lope de Vega's, die urwüchsige, handgreiflich derbe, aber für ein noch unverdorbenes Publikum höchst belustigende Komik, schliesslich sogar die Bühnenweisungen (z.B. "Sale el rey enojado y dice") deuten auf

[21] N. 111, José Antonio de Hermosilla, Sevilla, undated, 32 pp.; No. 111, Viuda de Francisco Leefdael, Sevilla, 28 pp. The latter edition is not listed in Cotarelo's *Bibliografía*, but it is found in a volume of *sueltas* of the Ticknor Collection of the Boston Public Library (G. 3353.3, Vol. I, 2nd play).

das Ende des sechzehnten oder den Anfang des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts hin."

In this play the scholarly German critic is inclined to see Pedro Díaz' *El rosario* mentioned by Rojas in his *Viaje entretenido* (Madrid, 1603, pp. 127, 128) as "good." And indeed from the standpoint of the theatrical producer, it is easy to understand why the play should be so characterized, for Diego, layman and one-time soldier who fights and swears with equal enthusiasm, affords some immensely amusing scenes. Had Moreto once discovered the type, he would, I believe, have repeated it.

To Schaeffer's accurate estimate of the situation, one may add that the comedy shows departure from Moreto's usual procedure in versification in that: (1) there are 61% *redondillas*, 29% *romances;* (2) that Act II closes with some seventy-six free rhyming lines of eight syllables which approximate the *silva* in the elasticity of their verse rhymes; and (3) that the other two acts close with *redondillas*, though four lines of *romances* have been attached at the close of Act III:

Y si el autor de esta historia
agradaros ha sabido
aquí tendrá fin dichoso
El rosario perseguido.

Certainly the play is not Moreto's.

‡*San Luis Beltrán*

This comedy, published in the *Parte XXVI* of the *Escogidas* by Francisco Nieto (Madrid, 1666) is Gaspar Aguilar's *La vida y muerte de San Luis Beltrán*, included in the *Norte de la poesía española*, Valencia, 1616.[22] It is also, in all probability, the play which was acted by Juan de Morales Medrano in June, 1608. (See *Canc. de la Acad. de los nocturnos*, F. Marti Grajales, Pt. II, Valencia, 1905, p. 202.)

If internal evidence were needed to prove that the work is not Moreto's, one could easily find it in the disjointed plot, the senseless characterization, and the percentages of versification: *quintillas*, 60%; *redondillas*, 27 %; and *romances*, 6%. One might point also to the blank verse found in Act III and to the fact that two acts end in *quintillas* and the third in blank verse.

**Travesuras son valor*

There are two different plays, both dealing with the same situation, which bear this name. One, which we shall label "revised," is attributed to Moreto in eighteenth-century *sueltas* and in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 3319) of the same epoch. The other, which we shall call the primitive version, is found as an anonymous work in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 3318) under the triple title *Travesuras son valor; Sancho el Malo y Sancho el Bueno*, o *El ejemplo en el castigo*. This

[22] The complete title is: *Norte de la poesía española, ilustrado del sol de doce comedias que forman segunda parte, de laureados poetas valencianos*. See La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 9. See also Schaeffer's conclusions, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 248; II, p. 182.

version García de la Iglesia printed as anonymous (in the *Parte VIII* of the *Escogidas*, Madrid, 1657) and still later it is ascribed to "tres ingenios" in a *suelta* of Juan Sanz (Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 38). Fernández-Guerra seems to take it for granted (*Op. cit.*, p. xliii) that Moreto is one of the three.

In my opinion the primitive version is not the handiwork of Moreto. It is, in all probability, the *Don Sancho el Malo* which was performed by Pedro de Valdés before the queen between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 8, 1623. (See Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 236.) Internal evidence supports this theory. The play, with its gruesome end, is entirely episodic, but it has a virility of style unknown to our author. In matters of characterization, one may point out the faithlessness of the hero, the spiteful attitude of the heroine, the lack of delicacy in the comic scenes: these are points which are more characteristic of Lopean imitators of the twenties than of Moreto. The versification (*redondillas*, 44% and *romances*, 37%) would point to the same period.

It does not seem improbable that Moreto (with collaborators perhaps) took the old drama of *Don Sancho el Malo* and before 1657 revised it under the name *Travesuras son valor* and that García de la Iglesia, recognizing the similarity of the older version which he possessed to Moreto's comedy, borrowed the newer name while printing it as anonymous.

Just what authority Juan Sanz had for attributing this version to "tres ingenios," I cannot say. It is not impossible that the revision is the work of three collaborators—hence the confusion—and that the eighteenth century *suelta* is wrong in ascribing it to Moreto alone. One may note that the protagonist strangles his rival in Act II. It is the only instance in the theatre of Moreto where there is a death that takes place on the stage. A collaborating hand would explain the retention of a scene which must have struck Moreto as repugnant.

B. "COMEDIAS" WHOSE AUTHENTICITY IS DOUBTFUL ON THE BASIS OF INTERNAL EVIDENCE[23]

**La confusión de un jardín*

In Acts II and III of *La confusión de un jardín*, first printed in the *Parte tercera* of Moreto (Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681),[24] Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxi) sees a collaborating hand, perhaps that of Figueroa. It is the loss of the character of the *gracioso* Vicente in this portion which leads him to this conclusion.

The point is well taken, for Moreto is usually at great pains to develop the rôle of his *gracioso* throughout the play. Yet the disappearance of the character has a natural explanation: the confines of the garden, to which the action of Acts II and III is limited, were too narrow to admit the

[23] Several of these plays whose authenticity I call into question had been previously declared apochryphal by Schaeffer, but my conclusions were reached without knowledge of the German critic's opinion.

[24] For the general lack of reliability of the attributions of this volume, see pp. 8–9 of this study.

presence of another masculine character. It is difficult to see what rôle the *gracioso* could have played, had he been present. There are in the second act phrases that are characteristic of our author.[25] Furthermore, the *canción* of III, 3, has a form that is identical with one used in *La vida de San Alejo* (III, p. 24), except for the length of the tenth line.

On the other hand, the versification of the whole play is not particularly characteristic. One may note in this connection that Acts I and II close with *redondillas* rather than *romances*, that the percentage of *redondillas* is remarkably high, particularly in Act II where it is 68%, that the forty-seven lines of *silva* in Act I are of the variety aAbBcC.

I am inclined to agree with Fernández-Guerra in seeing a collaborating hand in the play, but I feel that the evidence is conflicting.

If Castillo Solórzano died in 1649 (?), then this play was probably written after that date, for it is a reworking of his novel, *La confusión de una noche*.

†*El Cristo de los Milagros* (*El Santo Cristo de Cabrilla*)

This play, first printed in the *Parte XXXIV* by José Fernández de Buendía (Madrid, 1670) as *El Santo Cristo de Cabrilla*, has the title *El Cristo de los Milagros* in the *Tercera parte* of Moreto (Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681). In the latter edition, the closing lines of the comedy have been altered to read:

> Pues acabe
> la comedia aquí del *Cristo*
> *de los Milagros*,
> cuyo perdón os pedimos.[26]

It is also found in a manuscript (No. 3040) of the seventeenth century in the Biblioteca Nacional as *El Santo Cristo de Cabrilla*. In every case it is attributed to Moreto.

Though the authorship of this play has not been called into question, it has much about it that is not characteristic of Moreto. The plot is episodic and disjointed: the tricks of Cantueso and Centeno virtually amount to an *entremés* which is inserted in the last half of the first act and the first part of the second. Moreover, the situation (that of a heroine who goes in search of an erring lover) as well as the characters who take part in it, are unusual in Moreto's secular theatre.[27] The vocabulary, in that one misses the stock phrases of the *gracioso*, and the dialogue are unlike Moreto's. A study of the versification offers nothing conclusive in the way of proof, though the double *laisse* of *romances* (*e-o*, *u-a*) in the last act (p. 97)

[25] Such are "no jusepices" (II, 4, p. 517), "Yo he de ser en este encierro el cabestro" (II, 11, p. 520). For Moreto's tendency to coin verbs out of proper names, see p. 51. The second phrase quoted may be found in varied form in *El mejor amigo el rey* (I, 5, p. 602).

[26] Perhaps the word "Senado" is lacking in the third verse.

[27] Technically, this is a religious comedy, but the love story and the comic element are so important as to make it virtually a secular play.

and the predominance of the seven-syllable line in the *silvas* (pp. 100–101) are not characteristic of him.

†*El Eneas de Dios y Caballero del Sacramento*

This play, first published in the *Parte XV* of the *Escogidas* (Melchor Sánchez, Madrid, 1661) with the name of *El Eneas de Dios*, has another form in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 1087) which bears as subtitles the names *El Caballero del Sacramento* and *El blasón de los Moncadas*. In *Parte II* of Moreto (Benito Macé, Valencia, 1676), the comedy has the same text as that of the *Escogidas* and bears the title *El Caballero del Sacramento*. An inedited *suelta* of the eighteenth century (No. 1768), which is identical in form to the printed editions (See Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 26), takes the name *Lo que la religión puede en un noble catalán*.[28]

Moreto's authorship has not been called into question, so far as I know, but there is little in the play that is to me characteristic of him. In the utter disorder of plot and in the pale dialogue of the *gracioso*, it is difficult to find any trace of Moreto. Moreover, the unusual length of the play (3471 lines) and the carelessness of the author in bringing together two or more *laisses* of *romances* make it doubtful to me. (See I, pp. 11–16: *e-e, a-e, é;* and II, p. 29: *ó, i-a*). If the play is not wrongly attributed, then one must surely class this work under the juvenilia. It was represented in 1650,[29] but whether for the first time or not I cannot say. Rennert (*Spanish Stage*, p. 548) states that in 1651 Osorio de Velasco represented *Calderón's* comedies, *El Eneas de Dios* and *Antes que todo es mi dama*. I have not been able to trace the source of this statement.

The variant form which lies in manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 1087) may supply the key to the situation. The photostat which I ordered of this has not yet arrived.

†*Los engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel*

The editions of *Los engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel* are limited to two undated *sueltas* of Sevilla, one by Francisco de Leefdael[30] and one by his widow. Mention of the revolt in Lisbon of November, 1640 (I, 3, p. 529) would indicate that it was written after this date.

After pointing out the improbabilities of plot, Fernández-Guerra, (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxii) declares: ". . . puede asegurarse que no es de las más claras y correctas de nuestro autor y que en algunos parajes, especialmente en los

[28] With the title *El Caballero del Sacramento*, there is a play of Lope and still another of Francisco de Aguilar. The latter is, according to Paz y Melia (*Piezas manuscritas*, p. 170) the same comedy as *El Gran Patriarca Don Juan de Ribera*, also attributed to the Valencian.

[29] See Cotarelo, *Sebastián de Prado*, p. 73: "Antes de acabar el año cómico (1650) se habían representado . . . *El Eneas de Dios*," etc.

[30] This edition is not mentioned by Cotarelo in his *Bibliografía*, but I have seen it in a set of four volumes which exist in the Ticknor Library. It is 32 pages in length. Leefdael belongs to the first third of the eighteenth century. He died before 1730. See Escudero y Perosso, *Tipografía hispalense*, p. 47.

endecasílabos, se desconoce su pluma." Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 26), following the suggestion of Fernández-Guerra, classes it as doubtful. Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 171) dismisses the drama by including it among those which should be numbered among the hackwork (*Dutzendware*) of Moreto.

In my opinion, internal evidence will prove nothing in this case. It is one of those highly improbable structures that rest on eavesdropping and mistaken identity, quite the type of *La confusión de un jardín* and quite in the manner of the Calderonian drama of intrigue. The vocabulary is like Moreto's, and the first scene of Act I is slightly reminiscent of *El Caballero*. In its versification, one notes as peculiar only the fact that the second act closes with *silvas*. If there is a collaborating hand, the interest in the situation in Portugal could point to Matos Fragoso. It seems not improbable, however, that it should be the product of a young man of twenty-two who began his literary career by imitating the drama of intrigue which Calderón had perfected.

‡*El esclavo de su hijo*

This comedy, printed in the *Parte XXXIV* of the *Escogidas* (José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1670) as *El azote de su patria y renegado Abdenaga*, was included in the *Tercera parte* (Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681) as *El esclavo de su hijo*. Moreover, there is in the Biblioteca Nacional a manuscript (No. 1158) with the subtitle *Auto de Nuestra Señora del Rosario* which begins and ends like the comedy printed in the *Tercera Parte of* Moreto. (See Paz y Melia, *Piezas manuscritas*, p. 179.)

In the edition of the *Escogidas*, the concluding lines are:

Ya se trocó en regocijo
el mal que sintiendo estaba
y aquí, Senado, da fin
El azote de su patria.

But that of the *Tercera parte* (1681) has for its last verses according to Señor Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 27):

Ya se trocó en regocijo
el mal que sintiendo estaba;
y aquí, Senado, se acaba
El esclavo de su hijo.

The edition of the *Tercera parte* (1681) which I have at hand varies from that quoted by Cotarelo in that it has, at the expense of the rhyme, retained the third line of the edition of the *Escogidas:* "Y aquí, Senado, da fin."

As a matter of fact, it seems fairly certain that the last eight lines of the *Tercera parte* have been added, perhaps by Fernández de Buendía, for after 160 lines of *romances* (*a-e*), one finds two *redondillas*. The concluding lines of *romances* are:

Vamos y el Rosario viva!
¡Oh, Rosario, donde nace
a las almas tanto bien!

¿Quién es bastante a loarte?[31]

The first name of the play, then, was probably *El rosario* or some variant of it, and it was clearly written to celebrate a festival given by the city of Valencia in honor of the Virgin, though a cursory search on my part has not enabled me to identify the particular celebration. Act III (p. 62) contains these words:

Hoy en España es el día
en que con glorioso aumento
celebra la nación mía
la fiesta con gran contento
del Rosario de María.

And later (p. 65):

quiero que a Valencia pases
porque el día de mis fiestas
veas maravillas grandes.

There are in manuscript various other comedies by the name of *El rosario, Nuestra Señora del Rosario,* etc., all of which are found cited in Paz y Melia's *Piezas manuscritas* (See pp. 370, 447, 448); and in Rojas' *Viaje entretenido* (Madrid, 1603, pp. 127–128), there is praise of a play *El rosario* by Pedro Díaz. Whether our play has the same text as any of these, I cannot say.

That it is not by Moreto, I feel certain. Concerning its authorship, Schaeffer declares (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 183): "Das Stück ist ganz im Stile Lope de Vega's geschrieben; es . . . ist—gegen die Gewohnheit Moreto's—fast durchgehends gereimt. Die Autorschaft des letztern erscheint demnach aus innern Gründen zweifelhaft, während die Aüssern Indicien: Abdruck im 34. Bande der *Escogidas* unter Moreto's Namen und Nachdruck im apokryphen dritten Bande Moreto (Madrid, 1681) kaum als Gegengewicht gelten dürften." Stiefel (*Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, XXXI., pp. 357–358) argues with Schaeffer that the work is not Moreto's.

A study of the versification of this comedy (*quintillas*, 38%; *redondillas*, 27%; *romances*, 23%) would indicate that it was written in the early decades of the 17th century,—in the days when the *silva* and the *décima* were not yet in general use. For instance, the percentages of metre are quite similar to Lope's *La contienda de García*,[32] which is ascribed to 1600 (?). One may note further: two acts close in *quintillas* and the third in *redondillas;* the *lira* is of the aBaBcC type, which is not found in any of Moreto's well-attested plays.

Finally, there is no interest in characterization such as our author exhibits even in his religious plays, and the character of the *gracioso* is lacking, his place taken by some peasants and by a "cuerdo loco" who recalls

[31] It seems probable that the edition of the *Escogidas* had also had some lines added, since the assonance, to judge by Cotarelo's quoted lines, has been changed from *a-e* to *a-a*.

[32] See Buchanan, Milton A., *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays*, Toronto, 1922, p. 18.

Valdivielso's. It was probably written by some dramatist of the Valencian school.[33]

†*La gala del nadar es saber guardar la ropa*

The first and only edition which we have of *La gala del nadar es saber guardar la ropa* is that of *Parte XXXVIII* of the *Escogidas* (Lucas Antonio de Bedmar, Madrid, 1672).

It is not mentioned by Schaeffer (*Geschichte*), but its authenticity as a drama of Moreto has not, so far as I know, been questioned. Nevertheless, I feel that it belongs to the late Lopean period rather than to the florescent years of our dramatist's life. The characters of the first act of the play move with the vigor and sureness of those of Lope de Vega, whereas in the second and third acts the action becomes diffuse and ridiculous. Moreover, the percentages of versification (*redondillas*, 41%; *romances*, 39%; and *quintillas*, 12%) would point to the decades of the twenties or thirties.

The play could be the work of Moreto in his early years, and indeed there is much in it that recalls his attitude toward life. Yet it is difficult for me to see the hand of a young man in the portrayal of the character of Rosela: with her dignified melancholy, which at times approaches the *Weltschmerz* of the nineteenth century, she is like no feminine character I have encountered in the Spanish literature of the Golden Age. The *gracioso*, too, who is nearer in type to Alarcón's than to Moreto's, seems the product of a mature mind.

†*Hacer del contrario amigo* (*Empezar a ser amigos*)

Though mentioned by Quiñones de Benavente in his *Loa de Rueda y Ascanio* (1637–1638) as *Empezar a ser amigos* (See Restori, *Piezas de títulos*, p. 123), this play was not published, so far as I know, until Lucas Antonio de Bedmar printed it in the *Escogidas*, *Parte XXXV* (Madrid, 1671) under the same title. There is, however, in the Biblioteca Nacional a manuscript of the play (No. 3867) attributed to Moreto with the name *Hacer del contrario amigo*.

Concerning the authenticity of this play, Schaeffer says (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 167): "Man glaubt bei Prüfung dieser Comödie eine mittelmässigere von

[33] It is usually thought that this play is a reworking of Bernardino Rodríguez' *El renegado Zánaga*, and a rather cursory examination of the latter *comedia* leads me to believe the chronology correct in spite of the early date I have assigned to *El esclavo de su hijo*. Even though Rodríguez' work was not published until 1638 (*Doce comedias de varios autores*, Francisco Martorell, Tortosa), it gives every evidence in its versification (*quintillas*, 67%; *romances*, 18%; *redondillas*, 8%; *octavas*, 5%; *lira*, 1%), of belonging to the 1590's. Aside from the versification, one may note: the subject matter; the very primitive structure of the whole (particularly of Act I wherein the historical characters of Fernando de Gonzaga, Andrés Doria, Diego de Guzmán, etc., appear to give counsel to Carlos V); the complete absence of any humorous character; the very vivid colors in which the cruelty of the renegade is painted. One certainly does not find the sentimentalized Moor here!

Calderón selbst oder das Werk eines strengen Nachahmers dieses Meisters vor sich zu haben. Geradezu unmöglich aber kann man sie für eine Schöpfung unsers Moreto halten, wenn man eine Anzahl seiner unzweifelhaft echten Comödien hintereinander studirt hat." My opinion coincides entirely with Schaeffer's. It is impossible to see Moreto's pen in the utter formlessness of structure, in the repulsive characterization, in the blind acceptance of the ideal of the *pundonor* which characterize the play. In its metres, moreover, it shows less variety than any of the comedies of Moreto, as it is written entirely in *redondillas* (39%), *romances* (54%), and *silvas* (7%). In the lines of *silvas* (II, 123–125; III, 136–139), there is a higher percentage of seven-syllable verses than is customary with Moreto.

I am inclined to see in it the work of one of Calderón's imitators rather than of Calderón himself.

‡*La negra por el honor*

La negra por el honor, first printed in *Parte XXX* of the *Escogidas*, by Domingo García y Morrás (Madrid, 1668),[34] is surely not Moreto's.

Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxviii), seeking for an explanation of the stress upon the ideal of honor, the disorderly structure, the poor characterization, sees in it the work of a juvenile and untrained imagination which sought to imitate Calderón. Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 171), however, after pointing out the similarity of the shapeless third act to one of Lope's declares: "Es ist unbegreiflich, wie der Dichter von *El desdén con el desdén* einen solchen Unsinn zusammenschreiben konnte, wenn man nicht—in diesem Falle zu seiner Ehre—annehmen will, er habe den Stoff eines ältern Stücks geplündert." My reasons for rejecting its attribution to Moreto are the following:

The plot of a heroine besieged by a deep-dyed villain is unusual in Moreto's theatre. Rarely, too, does a woman adopt the disguise of man's apparel. Moreover, the stage mechanics are at times handled most awkwardly. In characterization, the heroine is noteworthy for her lack of dignity, the *gracioso* for his lack of wit. The dialogue has, at times, the childlike simplicity of a nursery rhyme. Finally, the versification shows interesting deviation from Moreto's usual practices: the play (3860 verses) is more than a thousand lines longer than the average and more than 600 lines longer than *El Parecido*, which represents the maximum for length among Moreto's unquestioned dramas; there are sixty lines of *liras* of form aBaBcC (III, pp. 36–37); the *silvas* (I, 4, 7–8; II, 22; III, 37) show a large percentage of seven-syllable lines.

In it I see the work of a man who was at once the imitator of Lope de Vega and of Calderón: of one who has taken the worst from both playwrights. The work cannot be Moreto's!

†*Sin honra no hay valentía*

Concerning *Sin honra no hay valentía*, first printed in *Parte XXV* of the *Escogidas* (Domingo García y Morrás, Madrid, 1666), Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*,

[34] This same volume attributes Lope de Vega's *La merced en el castigo* (under the name of *El premio en la misma pena*) to our author.

II, p. 171) writes: . . . "ist ein Stück mit ausserordentlich ungleichem Stil, eine Seltenheit bei Moreto. Ein Theil liest sich wie die Verse Lope's und seiner nächsten Schüler, ein anderer zeigt die gewöhnliche Schreibart unsers Dichters, ein dritter ist aufgeblasen und cultistisch. Ebenso wenig ist die Handlung zu loben." Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xlii) is even less complimentary: "la intriga repugnante y confusa; los caracteres viles o bajos; el desenlace violento y ridículo . . . con el más punible pretexto, se destruye un matrimonio legal para efectuar otros inverosímiles. El estilo, ya hinchado y tempestuoso, ya humilde o chocarrero, es digno de plan tan mal concebido. Si se lo sugirió a Moreto la escandalosa boda de Julián Valcárcel con la hija del Condestable de Castilla cuando era viva su mujer, doña Leonor de Unzueta, porque así lo quiso el célebre conde-duque de Olivares, que le declaró hijo suyo, el drama ha de suponerse escrito en el año de 1642."

The versification of this play is characteristic of the date mentioned, though I see no reason to conclude that it was necessarily written the same year of the marriage of Olivares' son. Moreover, I can find no trace of Moreto in the comedy. The plot, which is disjointed, is such that it would cause censure today. The male characters are utterly contemptible, and the women, Eugenia and Estela, show nothing of that decorum which is the dominant characteristic of Moreto's women. Toribio, the gardener, is not even distantly related to this dramatist's *gracioso*. Moreover, neither the dialogue nor the vocabulary is characteristic. As for the versification, one may note that the *lira* of form aBaBcC (I, p. 1) and the *silvas* (particularly those of I, 10) are not those which we expect in Moreto's theatre.

To the modern reader, the play is insipid; yet, it offers two characters of interest: (1) Eugenia, who has the reputation of being an exceedingly clever judge, is in her rôle reminiscent of Shakspeare's Portia; (2) Estela, in refusing to marry the man who has deprived her of her good name, plays a novel rôle in the drama of the Golden Age.

C. "COMEDIAS" WRITTEN IN COLLABORATION THAT HAVE NOT BEEN DISCUSSED UNDER EITHER OF THE PRECEDING HEADS

**El bruto de Babilonia*

First printed in the *Escogidas* (*Parte XXX*, García y Morrás, Madrid, 1668), this play offers no external evidence as to the division of labor other than the fact that the comedy is attributed to the authors in the following order: Don Juan de Matos Fragoso, Don Agustín Moreto, and Don Jerónimo Cáncer.

Fernández-Guerra felt that Moreto wrote the third act and quotes some lines from the *gracioso* to prove it. I personally do not feel that the *vis comica* of Moreto is so clearly defined, especially when put in comparison with Cáncer's, as to enable one to use it as the sole yardstick of authenticity. In my opinion, the three acts should be attributed to the authors in the order given above. Both versification and the method of borrowing indicate that the second act is Moreto's.

The reader may note concerning Act I that: (a) it is entirely in *romances* (92%) and *silvas* with the exception of a song and there are therefore, no *quintillas*; (b) it contains two *laisses* of *romances* without intervening metre; (c) it has an eight-line song; Moreto's songs rarely, indeed, run more than four lines. These are the characteristics of Matos' versification.[35] As for Act II, it is characteristic of Moreto except that the percentage of *romances* runs unusually high (85%) and that of *redondillas* correspondingly low. Yet, one finds similar figures in individual acts of other plays: *Primero es la honra* (III), *El valiente justiciero* (II), *Yo por vos y vos por otro* (I). Act III, in its percentages of *redondillas* (70%) and *romances* (22%), is similar to Cáncer's *Las travesuras del Cid*, which has corresponding figures of 68% and 26%.

In regard to the use of his sources, one may point out, negatively, that there is no instance in Moreto's theatre[36] where the dramatist has borrowed so flagrantly from the original as has the author of Act III, and, positively, we may add that the second act is characteristic in that: (a) the author, while following the general outline of plot, has developed his own versification and dialogue, as Moreto was accustomed to do; (b) the changes made in the characterization of the *gracioso* and the heroine are entirely characteristic of Moreto; (c) the increased stress on the supernatural is usual with our author in his religious plays.

**Caer para levantar*

Caer para levantar (the life of San Gil de Portugal), which was first printed in the *Parte XVI* of the *Escogidas* (Melchor Sánchez, Madrid, 1662), includes in its last lines the names of Matos, Cáncer, and Moreto, but all of it could, so far as internal evidence is concerned, be Moreto's. Certainly one must agree with Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxx) that "en toda la primera [jornada] y parte de la tercera, reconócese al autor de *San Franco de Sena*." One may point out further that these two acts are thoroughly characteristic of Moreto in their vocabulary and in their method of borrowing; that the version of *Carpe diem* found in the first act (I, 11, p. 588) may be encountered in similar words in *La misma conciencia acusa* (I, 7, p. 103); and that *Salid sin duelo, lágrimas corriendo*, used as a refrain (III, 1, p. 594), had been employed more artistically in Moreto's *La vida de San Alejo* (II, p. 10). As Mr. Morley has said (*Op. cit.*, p. 168), the versification shows us nothing with respect to the division of labor.

There is a *San Gil de Portugal* attributed to Matos Fragoso (La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 241), which has been published as a *suelta*. Since I have not seen the *comedia*, I am unable to make any statement concerning the relationship which may exist between this play and Moreto's.

**El mejor par de los doce*

With this comedy, first printed in the *Parte XXXIX* of the *Escogidas*

[35] See Morley, *Op. cit.*, pp. 169, 172.

[36] In making this statement, one must exclude *La ocasión hace al ladrón*, which is sometimes attributed to Moreto.

by José Fernández de Buendía (Madrid, 1673), there can be no doubt as to the division of labor. In the middle page of the edition which I have used (p. 17), it is stated:

Y aquí lo ha dejado Matos;
entre Moreto otro poco.

And at the conclusion of the drama, we read:

Y aquí Moreto da fin
a este verdadero caso.

**Nuestra Señora del Pilar*

The *suelta* which I have at hand of *Nuestra Señora del Pilar* (without year or place, 18 unnumbered pages [37]) bears the following heading: "*Nuestra Señora del Pilar*, la primera jornada de D. Sebastián de Villaviciosa, la segunda de D. Juan de Matos, la tercera de D. Agustín Moreto." This play, which was published in the *Parte V* of the *Escogidas* (Pablo de Val, Madrid, 1653)[38] is as certain a soporific as any that has fallen into my hands. It is difficult to see in it the work of either Matos or Moreto. The third act seems a bit more characteristic of our author than the others in its versification (the *lira* ABABCC, of p. 25 is characteristic of him) and in the elaborate figure used by Jacobo in painting himself as a soldier of Christ (III, pp. 28–29).

There is an inedited play of this same name with the alternative title of *Columna sobre columna*, attributed to Don Antonio de Zamora (No. 625 of the Biblioteca Nacional) and another by "un ingenio" (No. 2402) which bears the date 1695. Furthermore, Durán states (Paz y Melia, *Piezas manuscritas*, pp. 98, 370) that there are still two others in manuscript: one by Lanini and another by Cañizares. The former is listed by La Barrera among the works of Lanini (*Catálago*, p. 201), but I find no mention there of the work of Cañizares. I have not seen any of these plays and cannot say whether Moreto's comedy has any relationship to them or not.

**Santa Rosa del Perú*

In the edition of *Parte XXXVI* of the *Escogidas* (Madrid, 1671), the editor, José Fernández de Buendía, tells the reader that the first two acts are the last which Don Agustín composed before his death and that Don Pedro Francisco de Lanini y Sagredo wrote the third in order to complete the work. In the edition of Juan Sanz (No. 210, 20 leaves, without year or place), it is attributed to Moreto.

In versification there is nothing to distinguish the third act from the other two, but it is more gangling in construction than those which precede. Moreover, there is within it a game of dice played by Santa Rosa and the Angel, which is clearly given as a lesson against gambling, and a pointed reference to a "tavern of the *plaza* of Madrid, which is the same

[37] It is an edition which is not mentioned in Cotarelo's bibliographical study.

[38] I am unable to say from La Barrera's analysis (*Op. cit.*, p. 689) of this volume whether the heading carries this same notation or not. At least it is there attributed to the same three authors.

as the *infierno*," that are in no way characteristic of Moreto. Our author studiously avoided personalities, and his ethical outlook was not of the negative variety.

**La vida y muerte de San Cayetano*

This play is in the *Parte XXXVIII* of the *Escogidas* (Juan Antonio de Bedmar, Madrid, 1672) attributed to Diamante, Villaviciosa, Avellaneda, Matos, Arce and Moreto. We shall not attempt here to decide which sixth Moreto wrote, for the small evidence at hand is conflicting. As I have had occasion to point out in a comparative study, there is a similarity between a comic scene of this play (Act II, pp. 335–336) and one of *El más ilustre francés, San Bernardo* (III, pp. 157–8). Moreover, the sentiments concerning the small value of earthly riches as expressed in Act I, (p. 322) of this play are entirely characteristic of our author (See p. 99 of this study for the quotation.) Finally, there are expressions of the *gracioso* in the last half of Act III ("Pues yo, pajas," p. 345; "brinco y salto," p. 350) which are found repeatedly in Moreto's theatre.

This play was first produced in 1655, and so great was the eagerness of the crowd that rushed into the theatre that a man was trampled under foot until he died. The queen, too, was "dying to see" the play, perhaps because the Inquisition had forbidden its performance. (See Barrionuevo's *Avisos*, II, under dates Oct. 30 and Nov. 3, 1655.)

2. A COMPARISON OF CERTAIN PLAYS OF MORETO WITH SUGGESTED SOURCES

**La adúltera penitente* and *La Magdelena de Nápoles* (Rojas)

Señor Cotarelo[39] has pointed out that *La adúltera penitente* "has the same subject" as Rojas' *La Magdalena de Nápoles*.[40] The protagonists are not the same, however, for the play attributed to Moreto and his collaborators has to do with the life of Saint Theodora of Alexandria while Rojas' work is concerned with one Magdalena of Naples, whose life parallels in the large the events of Saint Theodora's.

The plot of *La adúltera penitente* may be summarized as follows: the

[39] *Bibl.*, pp. 19–20. "Es muy distinta de *El prodigio de Etiopia*, de Lope de Vega; de *Púsoseme el sol*, de Claramonte; del *Negro más prodigioso*, de Diamante; y del *Negro más alevoso y pirata del honor*, anónima. . . . En cambio, tiene el mismo asunto que *La Magdalena de Nápoles*, de Rojas." For bibliographical notices of *La adúltera penitente*, see p. 123 of this study.

[40] This play, which was not known to La Barrera, is to be found only in *sueltas*. I have used a photostat from the British Museum, *La segunda Magdalena y Sirena de Nápoles, Comedia famosa de Don Francisco de Roxas*. It is without pagination, year of publication, editor, or place, 32 pp. There was a *La Magdalena* acted by Antonio de Prado from Aug. 24 to Sept. 8, 1649 which was perhaps this *comedia*. See Rennert, *Sp. Stage*, p. 319.

beautiful and virtuous Teodora, at the insistence of her parents, marries the wealthy Natalio although she is in love with Felipo, who has, previous to her union with the former, sought her hand in marriage. Felipo, seeing that she disregards his many communications and that she is determined to be faithful to her husband, contrives to get Natalio out of the house, to enter Teodora's apartments during the absence of her husband, and to break down her resistance to his pleas. No sooner does she yield, however, than she repents and retires to a monastery where she lives disguised in man's clothing. The last two acts are concerned with the various attempts of the devil to make her again fall into error, with the efforts of the half-crazed Natalio to locate his wife, and with the fate of Felipo, who, after turning bandit, repents and is redeemed through Teodora's prayers and intercession.

The general situation of Rojas' play is the same: in it a wife, who is loved by her husband and esteemed by the world about her, yields up her honor to a lover who has secured entrance into the house through deception; furthermore, she repents, dons man's apparel, devotes her life to things holy, and dies in the odor of sanctity. Still again, there are scenes in Moreto's work which have vague parallels in *La Magdalena de Nápoles*. In the opening scene of each, the *gracioso* argues with Felipo (Rojas' César) the folly of his passion for the heroine. In both there is another scene wherein the husband is getting ready to make his departure. I have noted no verbal parallels.

These points of similarity, however, are not sufficient to convince me that Moreto knew Rojas' play, for the general outline of plot may be found in Rivadeneyra's *Flos Sanctorum*, and the parallelism of scenes mentioned is too vague to serve as proof. Rojas' play, which is virtually a cape-and-sword comedy wherein the religious element has been reduced to a minimum, apparently took suggestions from Lope's *El prodigio de Etiopía*[41] and combined them more definitely with the Santa Teodora theme.

As to whether either Moreto's play or Rojas' owes anything to Claramonte's *Púsoseme el sol, salióme la luna*, which likewise deals with Saint Theodora, I am unable to say, for I have not been able to secure a photostat of it in time to complete this study. Cotarelo, as we have noted, rejects any such relationship. Diamante's play is a flagrant plagiarism of Lope's, according to Menéndez y Pelayo.[42] Of *El negro más alevoso y pirata del honor*, I know nothing.

**El bruto de Babilonia*
and
Las maravillas de Babilonia (Guillén de Castro)

El bruto de Babilonia,[43] which, as Schaeffer has pointed out (*Op. cit.*,

[41] As Menéndez y Pelayo points out in the Royal Academy Edition of Lope's works (Vol. IV, *Observaciones preliminares*, p. lxvi), *El prodigio de Etiopía* has borrowed some suggestions from the life of Santa Teodora as given in the *Flos Sanctorum*.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. lxii.

[43] For bibliographical details, see p. 149 of this study.

p. 286), is derived from Guillén de Castro's *Las maravillas de Babilonia*,[44] is the story of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar in unhappy combination with that of Susanna and Jehoachim, as taken from the prophecy of Daniel. When these two Jewish captives marry, they are straightway separated by order of the monarch, Nebuchadnezzar, who has forbidden their union because he himself is attracted to the bride. The tyrant assures the audience, however, that he will not force her will. Nacor and Ahab, who have, unknown to Susanna, spied on her as she bathes, are not so scrupulous, and when she repulses their advances, take revenge by claiming that she is an adulteress and, as such, subject to the death penalty. She is saved from this unhappy fate, however, by Daniel, who entangles the accusers in their own lies and unites the lovers.

On this as a background are superimposed the following episodes from the Daniel–Nebuchadnezzar story: the prophet's interpretation of the tyrant's dream of a statue; his experience with the lions; the miraculous events of the fiery furnace; Daniel's explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a tree; the ambitious ruler's conversion into a beast and his ultimate return to his kingly state.

This miserable concoction, which gives every evidence of having been thrown together at a few hours' notice, is, for the most part, a servile imitation of its source. The first act, Matos' portion in my opinion (See pp. 149–150 of this study), is guilty to the extent of borrowing line after line—indeed wherever the assonance would permit—and of paraphrasing minutely almost every speech that Guillén de Castro has used in developing the Daniel-Nebuchadnezzar story. The third act, Cáncer's to my mind, has borrowed some two-thirds of its lines from its source.

Act II (Moreto's part), though following the general outline of plot that Guillén de Castro had laid out, is independent of its source in versification and dialogue. The same is true for the characterization of the heroine. The sprightly lady of the Valencian, who literally takes a stick to those who would assail her, has become a lady of decorum whose lashes are entirely lingual. The rôle of the *gracioso* has gained in importance and the stress on the supernatural increased.

**Caer para levantar*
and
El esclavo del demonio (Mira de Amescua)

Matos, Cáncer, and Moreto found the story for *Caer para levantar*,[45] which is concerned with the life of San Gil of Portugal, in Mira de Amescua's *El esclavo del demonio*.[46] For Schaeffer, who first pointed out this re-

[44] First printed in the *Flor de las mejores doce comedias*, Diego Díaz de la Carrera, Madrid, 1652. It may be read in E. Juliá Martínez, *Obras de Don Guillén de Castro*, III, Madrid, 1927.

[45] See p. 150 of this study for bibliographical details.

[46] Published in the *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega*, Sebastián de Cormellas, Barcelona, 1612. See La Barrera, *Op. cit.*, p. 259. I have used M. A. Buchanan's edition, University of Chicago, 1906.

lationship (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 286), the play of the three collaborators is a "pale" though a "polished" imitation of a "gigantic" drama.

The story, as revised, is concerned with three main characters. The first of these is Don Gil who, after turning the dissolute Don Diego from his ignoble life to that of a saint, falls first into the temptation of eloping with Don Diego's sweetheart and later into every conceivable crime. In the end, he is saved from his pact with the devil by the very man whom he has once betrayed. The second is Doña Violante, the disobedient daughter of Don Vasco de Noroña. Having eloped with Don Gil, she joins him in his life of highwayman, but, like him, repents and is saved. The third is Leonor, sister of the heroine, who on her way to the convent, is so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of Don Gil. The latter, moved by her beauty, sells his soul to the devil that he may possess her. Satan, however, is unable to fulfil his part of the contract.

The simplicity of this story, which stands in notable contrast to the highly involved original, has been obtained only by rigid pruning. Our authors have omitted four subplots: that of the two Sanchos, both suitors for the hand of Leonor; that of the peasant Constancio and his daughter Lícida; that of the search for Violante and the revenge which her father and Don Diego mutually demand of each other; and finally that of Violante's atonement in the house of her own father.

In eliminating such extraneous material, the authors have not only improved the structure of the play but have given dignity and decorum of tone to the whole. The changes in characterization tend in this same direction. Don Gil is less brutal than his prototype, Don Vasco less vociferous, Doña Violante less vindictive, less melodramatic. This same "toning down" may be seen in the concluding action of the play: the battle of the angels for the soul of Don Gil, a physical one in Mira de Amescua's play, has become a verbal duel in the revision in which Don Diego and the guardian angel act as advocates for the bandit.

The term "servile imitation" which Señor Cotarelo applies to *Caer para levantar* (*Bibl.*, p. 22) is harsh, but one must grant that the three dramatists have borrowed most freely from their source. Twenty-four[47] of the forty-two scenes of Moreto and his collaborators find partial equivalents in the earlier play, and in the case of nine of these (I, 1, 3-4, 6,9; II, 3, 8; III, 6, 9), the parallel is a close one. Furthermore, there are twenty lines scattered here and there in the first act—ten of them in the long speech of Don Gil (6)—which are identical with those of Amescua. In the first half of the second act (3), fifteen of the twenty-five *quintillas* have been transferred bodily. One notes also occasional borrowed lines in scenes 4 and 8: six in all.

While Moreto and his co-workers have made an orderly comedy out of a formless, chaotic mass by cutting the play from 3182 lines to 2660, by eliminating four sub-plots and the twelve characters involved, and by transforming the characters and the general atmosphere, the loss of vigor

[47] I, 1, 3–6, 9–12; II, 1–6, 8; III, 1–3, 6, 9–11, 14. I cannot give the corresponding scenes in the source since it is not thus divided.

and the destruction of the epic sweep which Schaeffer so laments are undeniable.

Cómo se vengan los nobles
and
El testimonio vengado (Lope)

As Fernández-Guerra pointed out (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxi), Moreto has borrowed his plot for *Cómo se vengan los nobles*[48] from a play of Lope's which is ordinarily known as *El testimonio vengado*[49] but which apparently was published also under the same title as Moreto's.[50]

In both plays, King Sancho el Mayor has for years concealed the identity of his illegitimate son Ramiro, fearing that his wife would be impelled by the interests of their three sons, García, Fernando, and Gonzalo, to make an attempt against her stepson's life. In both comedies, too, the queen has discovered his whereabouts and has made various efforts to bring about his destruction.

When the king departs to war against the Moors, he leaves his favorite white steed with Pedro Sesé, master of the horse (in Moreto's comedy, he is counselor of state), and gives orders that no one, not even his sons, be permitted to mount him. In both comedies, Don García, the eldest prince, insists on disobeying his father's commands, and on the refusal of his request by his mother and by Sesé, the three princes accuse them of illicit relations. In each case it is Ramiro who defends the honor of his father's wife in open combat and forces the ignominious trio to retract their false charges. Moved by the generous spirit of Ramiro and outraged at the ingratitude of their children, the king and queen would make him the heir of all their kingdom. In the revised story, Ramiro refuses to accept at the expense of his half brothers the proffered thrones of Castile and Navarre and contents himself with that of Aragon, of which he becomes first king. In Lope's comedy, he accepts the thrones without hesitation.

The story, then, is virtually the same in both plays, but Moreto has shifted the emphasis. In *El testimonio vengado*, the title itself reveals the fact that the author was chiefly concerned with the fate of the persecuted queen in her conflict with her thankless children; in *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, Moreto declares that the true nobleman is one who avenges himself by returning good for evil. Thus the ambitious and haughty protagonist of Lope (so punctilious in matters of honor) becomes a model of altruistic forgiveness in Moreto's drama,—one who is generous, quick to forgive, willing to risk his life for a servant even as for a queen. And the queen, who in *El testimonio vengado* plays the part of innocent motherhood condemned

[48] First printed in *Parte XXIX* of the *Escogidas* (José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1668). It is, in my opinion, one of the late plays of Moreto. See p. 27 of this study.

[49] Printed in *Primera parte* of Lope's comedies (1604). It may be read in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. XLI.

[50] See Schaeffer, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 116. Señor Cotarelo y Mori points out (*Bibl.*, p. 23) that the account from which Lope drew his story is to be found in Mariana's *Historia de España.*

and is the epitome of self-sacrificing indulgence, is transformed in *Cómo se vengan los nobles*. She becomes the outraged queen, one who, though forced by the exigencies of the story into the rôle of the cruel stepmother of the fairy tale, nevertheless, shows herself truly royal in the dignity with which she meets misfortune.

Such changes in theme and characterization inevitably resulted in the elimination of certain scenes. Moreto has omitted those masterly little sketches of family life found in Lope's play (I, 4, 6, 7, 10–14); exchanged the pastoral note of the earlier play,—of Celia (Ramiro's supposed sister) and her jealous swain, Marcelo,—for the comic amours of Buscón and his sweetheart (I, 8; III, 5, 12); rejected Lope's scenes showing Ramiro's infatuation for his stepmother (II, 3), his pundonoresque ideas in regard to Celia (II, 11), his symbolical dream wherein he foresees his own future greatness (III, 2).

Moreto's play is the superior one, if judged from the technical standpoint. It has gained immensely in unity of action and in its logical sequence of events. The time of the action has been cut down, and although a month intervenes between Acts II and III, the episodes of each of the three have been so arranged that they take place within a few hours. In Lope's play, on the contrary, some weeks pass between scenes six and seven of Act III. Moreto has not concerned himself apparently in trying to cut down the number of shifts of scene: Lope's play calls for ten, his own for eight.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that, from the poetic standpoint, Moreto's play is quite inferior, not only to its source, but to many of his own comedies. The few flights of fancy that he has attempted are more gongoristic than is usual in his work.[51] In Lope's, on the other hand, there is much of the lyrical[52] and a bit of the declamatory, but nothing of the gongoristic.

In variety of versification, the two plays are on a par, but there is no question of influence. Lope's play is written for the most part in *redondillas* (nearly 60%) and *quintillas* (15%); Moreto's in *romances* (53%) and *redondillas* (22%). He completely omitted the *quintillas*, blank verse, and sonnets to be found in Lope's work.

**La confusión de un jardín*
and
La confusión de una noche (Castillo Solórzano)

As Señores Hurtado and Palencia have pointed out,[53] *La confusión de un jardín*[54] is taken from Castillo Solórzano's *La confusión de una noche*, which is one of six stories included in *Los alivios de Casandra*.[55]

[51] See Ramiro's description of the Ebro, II, 4, p. 434; also the king's description of the horse, I, 14, p. 432. These sound more like Matos Fragoso than Moreto.

[52] See the queen's complaints I, 10, p. 407; the *duos* of Marcelo and Celia, II, 6, and III, 7, etc.

[53] *Op. cit.*, p. 735. If this relationship has been pointed out by an earlier critic, I have not seen it.

The plot of Moreto, one of those elaborate concoctions of intrigue in which disguise is heaped upon disguise and improbability upon improbability, has for its chief characters, two brothers, Don Diego de Silva and Don Luis de Toledo, both in love with Doña Beatriz. Each is ignorant of the other's courtship, however, and the lady herself is until the last moment unaware of the relationship that exists between her two suitors. To complicate matters, Doña Leonor, younger sister to Doña Beatriz, is in love with Don Luis. Her sister is not conscious of this passion, however, and consequently pays no attention to Leonor's wise (if self-interested) attempt to dissuade her from summoning Don Luis to her garden in order to make him declare his intentions. Don Diego, who has been reported dead, meanwhile arrives on the scene after a three years' absence and is straightway obliged to take part in a duel. Fleeing from the officers of the law, he runs into the arms of Don Jerónimo (father of the two girls), who generously offers him protection by hiding him in the garden. When Don Luis also enters its confines, one scene of mistaken identity follows another, and poor Don Jerónimo suffers a sleepless three hours in trying to find out how he may best avenge his honor. In the end, Don Diego marries Doña Beatriz while Don Luis contents himself with Leonor.

To secure such unity of time, the dramatist has wisely excluded the first half of Castillo Solórzano's story,[56] but has made comparatively few other changes in the plot. In the source, Beatriz is aware of Leonor's love for Luis, and it is primarily for her sake and entirely with her approval that he is summoned to the garden. Then, again, the long scene between Beatriz and Don Luis takes place not in the bedroom of the latter (as in the novel) but in the garden—a shift of scene that was probably made in the interest of realism as well as decorum.

Occasionally, the author of *La confusión de un jardín* is indebted to the source for a small detail of motivation and for suggestions of dialogue. For instance, the ruse which Don Jerónimo uses (II, 15, p. 521) to find out whether Don Luis is the man whom he admitted to the garden is the same which Don Manuel[57] employs in *La confusión de una noche*. One of the long speeches virtually amounts to a paraphrase. (Cf. *La confusión de un jardín*, III, 6 with *La confusión de una noche*, p. 37.)

De fuera vendrá quien de casa nos echará
and
De cuando acá nos vino (Lope)

Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxi) noted many years ago the rela-

[54] For bibliographical details, see p. 142 of this study.

[55] First printed in 1640 by Jayme Romeu, Barcelona.

[56] This first half includes a detailed chronicle of the first meeting of Don Diego and Doña Beatriz, of the duel which he fights with another suitor over her, of his subsequent flight, his fortunes in battle and his reported death, of his return to Seville, etc.

[57] There seems to be a confusion of names in Castillo Solórzano's story for sometimes the character is called Don Manuel, at other times Don Fernando.

tionship of *De fuera vendrá quien de casa nos echará*[58] to Lope de Vega's *De cuando acá nos vino*.[59] The plot of the latter is as follows: the lieutenant Leonardo and his comrade Beltrán, two young soldiers in Flanders, set out for Madrid bearing a letter of introduction which their captain, Fajardo, has addressed to his sister, Doña Bárbara. After losing their savings at the gaming table, they decide to put the introduction to a use unforeseen by their captain. They forge a new letter in which Leonardo is described as the son of Fajardo by a Flemish wife, and with this they gain admission into the house of Doña Bárbara, a widow with a charming daughter, named Angela. Both women straightway fall in love with the handsome lieutenant, and the mother, in order to triumph over her daughter, pretends that Leonardo is actually her own son who had been entrusted to her brother to rear. The story ends with the appearance of the captain who accepts the paternity thrust upon him and marries Leonardo to his niece and Doña Bárbara to the scarcely enthusiastic Beltrán.

To Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, 173), the changes which Moreto has made in reworking Lope's play are of little importance ("wenig wichtig"). It is true that the general outlines of Moreto's plot, if given here, would differ little from Lope's. Moreover, the theme of his play (the danger of overguarding girls) may also be found in the source. The dramatist of *De fuera vendrá* has, however, made some significant changes. He has laid more stress on the thesis; has changed the mother-daughter relationship to that of aunt-niece, thereby making unnecessary Doña Bárbara's ridiculous story (II, 8); has thrown into an expository narrative the opening camp scenes of Lope's play (I, 1–3) and in so doing eliminated ten minor characters.

More important still are the changes in characterization. By comparison with their corresponding prototypes, Doña Cecilia, the aunt, is more the *figurón* type than Doña Bárbara, for her strict guardianship of the heroine arises, not from memory of her own betrayal as happens in the case of Lope's character,[60] but from jealousy of the attentions which her niece receives. Lisardo is cleverer, less mercenary, more lovable than Leonardo, though his conduct is not as irreproachable as that of most of Moreto's heroes; Francisca is more vivid but less discreet than Angela, for in her rôle is bound up the thesis of the play (*De fuera vendrá*, I, 9, p. 62):

Mirad, doncellas guardadas,

[58] Written in 1653 and published in the *Primera parte*, 1654. See p. 18 for date. The detailed description of the siege of Gerona (I, 2, pp. 58–59) leads Joaquín Manuel de Alba (*B.A.E.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. xv) to conclude that Moreto witnessed the battle.

[59] Mentioned in the second *Peregrino* and published in the *Parte XXIV*, Zaragoza, 1633. Played in Perpignan with the title *De cuando acá nos vino y gradas de San Felipe* in March 1631. See Rennert y Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1919, p. 473.

[60] Doña Bárbara commands our sympathy only in the first act. The development of her character in the two acts that follow is unattractive and lacking in motivation.

que aun la calle verlas niegan,
al primero que hablan pegan,
aunque sean más honradas.

Moreto has increased the comic element in developing his other minor characters as well as in presenting the aunt. One meets: the lieutenant Aguirre,[61] at once a rank materialist and a philosophic spectator of life; Chichón, equally proud of his virtue and his ancestry;[62] Yañez, gullible enough to satisfy even the lieutenant; Don Martín, convinced that he is every maiden's delight; the Licenciate, ready always with his "text" but never with his sword; Margarita, as fixed in her dislike of aunts as is Aguirre himself.

Moreto's dialogue is frequently very near that of the original, though seldom so close as to give evidence of the influence of versification. In this brief analysis, it is not possible to quote the passages in Moreto that have vague verbal parallels in Lope. One may gain a fairly representative idea of the nature and extent of his indebtedness to Lope's dialogue by reading the pen sketch which Aguirre and Beltrán have left us of the serving-maid type. (See *De fuera vendrá*, I, 1, p. 57; *De cuando acá*, II, 4, p. 207.) Compare also: (1) Moreto's picture of the gossipers of San Felipe (I, 1, p. 57) with Lope's (I, 12–13, p. 202); (2) the description each dramatist gives of the reception accorded the young adventurers by the captain's sister (Moreto, I, 11, 12, p. 63, and Lope, I, 26–27, pp. 205–206); (3) the scenes wherein these soldiers of fortune are greatly disconcerted by the arrival of their captain (Moreto, III, 12, 14, pp. 76–77, and Lope III, 11–12, pp. 216–217). There are in addition conceits scattered throughout the work which Moreto has taken from his source. See, for instance, "Qué quieres boca?" (Moreto II, 1, p. 64, and Lope II, 3, p. 206). I have noted at least six others of this type.

To me the play is more amusing than Lope's, both in its characterization and its situations. In fact there is no work of our author wherein the *vis comica* is as strong as in this, no comedy where the characters are more clearly delineated, and, in short, no play where Moreto has reworked a comedy to greater advantage than this.

* * *

The similarity which Schaeffer points out (*Op. cit.*, p. 173) between the encounter of the lovers on the steps of San Felipe (*De fuera vendrá* I, 3–5) and the opening scenes of *El acero de Madrid* (I, 1–3) exists, but it is purely of situation. There is no question of the influence of versification or dialogue.

"El desdén con el desdén" and *Suggested Sources*

It does not lie within the scope of this condensed study to attempt a detailed examination of the analogies that have been pointed out between

[61] See pp. 83–84 of this study for a detailed characterization.

[62] See p. 86 of this study for an analysis of Chichon's character.

El desdén con el desdén and some twenty other plays. Fortunately, that task has already been accomplished by Miss Harlan.[63] It will be necessary, however, (1) to analyse more fully the interrelationship existing between this comedy and two others of Moreto; (2) to trace the source of the aforesaid two plays; (3) to give briefly our own conclusions as to Moreto's indebtedness to his predecessors.

Aside from its almost perfect workmanship, the distinctive elements which characterize this "king of Spanish comedies" are four in number:

(1) *A likable young fellow named Carlos*, who, piqued at the indifference of a Countess to whose charms he was at first utterly cold, is now, much to his own disgust, madly in love with this same disdainful lady.

(2) *A beautiful young girl, Diana*, whose philosophic reading has led her to the conviction that all of the troubles of the world have arisen from love, and who, therefore, has decided to refuse marriage and to devote her life to study.

(3) *A situation* wherein three suitors are in love with the disdainful heroine.

(a) Two of these would win by the ostentation of their courtship.

(b) The third, Carlos, meets "disdain with disdain," and, by arousing in the heroine the spirit of conquest, worsts her at her own game. There is thus a love duel in which wit is pitted against wit.

(c) The unsuccessful suitors are paired off with two of Diana's maids of honor.

(4) *A "gracioso,"* Polilla, who suggests to Carlos his line of attack and who helps him to carry it out by keeping him posted on the reactions of the heroine.

With these four essentials in mind, let us compare *El desdén con el desdén* with *Hacer remedio el dolor* and *El poder de la amistad*,[64] both plays associated with Moreto's name. This interrelation, first pointed out by Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, pp. xxxv and xxxix) exists; indeed, one can find in the one play or the other every essential element of the best comedy of the Golden Age. And, while the chronology of this trilogy of disdain cannot be established with certainty, it seems probable that the plays were written in the order named and that *El desdén con el desdén* is but the happy flowering of the other two.[65]

[63] M. M. Harlan, *The Relationship of Moreto's "El desdén con el desdén" to Suggested Sources*, Indiana University Studies, June, 1924.

[64] Fernández-Güerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xliv) has also found analogy between Moreto's masterpiece and *Yo por vos y vos por otro*. It is so slight as not to concern us here. Both contain a clever servant who renders invaluable aid in helping to win the heroines—it is a play of double plot—and both have the underlying philosophic thought that we are interested only in what we do not possess. Neither in its plot nor in its characters does the comedy bear any marked resemblance to *El desdén con el desdén*.

[65] *Hacer remedio el dolor* was written before 1649 (See pp. 220) and *El poder de la amistad* was finished in April, 1652 according to an autograph manuscript (See Fernández-Guerra, *Op. cit.*, p. xxxix). We know of *El desdén con el desdén* only that

In *Hacer remedio el dolor*, the orphan Casandra, after disdaining her many suitors to woo knowledge ("letras, historia, filosofía, humanidad"), is at last after five years of faithful attendance on the part of Carlos so indiscreet as to admit her love for the young man,—indiscreet because it is Carlos' nature that he wants only that which he does not have. In his own words (II, p. 44):

> Aun a mí propio me cansa
> esta injusta condición,
> que en llegando a esto de damas,
> la que se me acerca más
> es la que menos me agrada.

And when Casandra would argue the matter, Carlos betakes himself to woo the fair Aurora who, at the suggestion of her new secretary (and she is none other than the wily Casandra, who has followed Carlos without his knowledge), decides to put her lovers over various intellectual hurdles in order to choose that one who is most "ingenious" and most "skilled." First by abetting Ludovico, the most important of the rivals of Carlos, then by giving him a most thorough dose of his own "disdain," the able Casandra wins back her love.

This comedy, then, stands in contrast to *El desdén con el desdén*, a counter-companion piece in which at first the hero is playing a passive rôle, the heroine an active one. In temperament, however, the protagonists differ not at all from the corresponding figures in the better-known play. The Carlos of each comedy is a restless young adventurer who finds joy in pursuit rather than in possession: a disdainful woman is, therefore, a challenge; a woman won, a manacle. In each case the hero has the intellectual grace to be irritated at his own irrationality and to ask himself why humanity should be so perverse as to desire only that which is beyond its reach. Casandra, like Diana, has spent her girlhood in reading and has as a consequence been indifferent to men. When a temporary lapse from this indifference costs her Carlos's love, she is intelligent enough to realize that she can win back that interest by putting him once again in the rôle of pursuer. The pessimist might say that the story of Casandra and Carlos is but a sequel to the concluding situation of *El desdén con el desdén*.

There are details which bring the two plays even closer together. Among the devices by which Aurora helps to test her lovers is the same charming game of colors (terminating in a dance) that is to be found in *El desdén con el desdén*. Furthermore, there is in both an involved analysis of love: love is *voluntad* and the moment it becomes *obligación*, it ceases by very definition, to be *voluntad*.

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it was published in the *Primera parte*, 1654, but two facts point to its being posterior in date to the other two comedies. The tendency of Moreto in reworking a play was ever from the intricate in plot structure to the simple, and both *Hacer remedio el dolor* and *El poder de la amistad* have subplots which have either been omitted or else absorbed in *El desdén con el desdén*. Moreover, *El poder de la amistad* is, in its borrowing, nearer to *Los milagros del desprecio*, the play most frequently given as the source of *El desdén con el desdén*, than is *El desdén* itself.

The thesis of *El poder de la amistad* is, as the title would indicate, the power of friendship, but since that power is exercised solely in behalf of Alejandro's courtship of the indifferent Margarita, the interest of the reader lies primarily in the methods employed by the protagonist to win the lady of his dreams.[66] As Miss Harlan has already pointed out (*Op. cit.*, pp. 95–96), the general situation is the same as that of *El desdén con el desdén:* a disdainful princess, with three outstanding suitors, two of whom would win her by magnificent display, in the end rejects them both for the faithful Alejandro—not, however, until that lover has learned (II, 10, p. 31) from the practical Moclín (who plays exactly the same rôle as Polilla) that it is necessary:

> . . . a estas ingratas
> perseguirlas, maltratarlas,
> sacudirlas y dejarlas
> para que tengan amor.

The weapons that Alejandro uses are the feigned indifference and jealousy which Carlos of *El desdén con el desdén* and Casandra of *Hacer remedio el dolor* employ so effectively; and like the male protagonists of these plays, Margarita is angry at herself for her irrationality and ingratitude (III, 6, p. 36):

> No siento el ver que yo ame
> donde tantas han querido
> sino el haberme rendido
> a una pasión tan infame,
> de estilo tan torpe y necio
> que a su vil naturaleza
> no la obliga una fineza
> y se arrastra de un desprecio.

But, then, love is neither rational nor grateful, as she tells Alejandro (I, 3, p. 24):

> La voluntad ella misma
> tras lo que quiere se sale;
> no hay razones que la obliguen,
> ni discursos que la manden.
> Amor no es filosofía
> que a consecuencias se alcance;
> porque si hubiera razón
> para que a amar se obligase,
> ya fuera deuda el amor,
> y tiranía el negarle,
> y por justicia pudiera
> pedirse en los tribunales.
> Bien veo que el no pagar
> en vos finezas tan grandes
> es delito; la razón
> yo os la doy, pero no vale.

[66] For a résumé of this play, see pp. 45–46 of this study.

Unlike Casandra and Diana, Margarita is actuated by no dislike of men nor by any interest in books or their precepts. Neither is Alejandro moved by the desire for conquest that animates the protagonists of the other plays of this trilogy.

There are various scenes in *El poder de la amistad* that are reminiscent of Moreto's masterpiece. Matilda, maid of honor to Margarita, is quite as willing to marry the hero as is Cintia of *El desdén con el desdén* to marry Carlos (Cf. *El poder*, II, 4, p. 29, with *El desdén*, III, 10, pp. 17–18). Furthermore, the episode wherein Moclín prompts Alejandro (II, 7, p. 30) and forces him to compliment Matilda (for the benefit of Margarita whom he knows to be eavesdropping) recalls the one in *El desdén con el desdén* wherein Polilla keeps Carlos' eyes fixed upon the flowers (II, 9, pp. 12–13). Still again, Alejandro, like Carlos, is for a moment on the point of forgetting his rôle of disdain but in each case is saved by the note of triumph which creeps into the heroine's voice. (Compare *El desdén* II, 4, with *El poder*, II, 2, p. 27 and III, 4, pp. 10–11.)

Finally, there are certain similarities in the dialogue, particularly in that of the *graciosos* of the two plays. Compare Moclín's words (*El poder*, III, 4, p. 35):

Tieso que tieso, señor,
haz que no se te da un higo,
la verás como una breva . . .

with Polilla's (*El desdén*, I, 1, p. 3 and II, 5, p. 11):

¿Viste una breva en la cima
de una higuera? . . .
Ella está tiesa y muy alta
. . . . . .
Aun está verde la breva.

Note also Moclín's metaphors (II, 3 and 10, pp. 29, 31):

Ya van las purgas obrando
. . . . . .
Pues vé recitando en mí
que yo soy el boticario

and those of Polilla (III, 12, p. 18):

Toma si purga, señor,
no hay en la botica emplasto
para las mujeres locas
como un parche de mal trato.

Both *graciosos* are given to forming verbs from proper nouns. Moclín (III, 4, p. 35) declares that Alejandro has gone "a *matildar* un poquito" just as Polilla (III, 3, p. 14) asks concerning Diana's suitors ¿"Qué han de hacer sino *cintiar?*"

Briefly, then, we may sum up the relationship of *El desdén con el desdén* to the two plays in question by saying:

1. All three have the same philosophic idea that humanity is so illogical as to long only for the more inaccessible fruits,—even though those at hand are *per se* more desirable.

2. The characterization of the two protagonists is found in *Hacer remedio el dolor.*

3. The *gracioso*'s rôle and characterization are identical with Moclin's (*El poder de la amistad*).

4. The general situation is that of *El poder de la amistad:* three suitors are in competition for the heroine's hand, which is finally bestowed on the one who is wise enough to feign indifference.

5. There are details of plot and dialogue to be found in both *Hacer remedio el dolor* and *El poder de la amistad* which Moreto has utilized in *El desdén con el desdén.*

6. The germ for the "love duel" wherein wit is matched against wit, may be found in *El poder de la amistad,* but it is in embryo.

* * *

If Moreto's own plays, *Hacer remedio el dolor* and *El poder de la amistad* are the immediate sources of *El desdén con el desdén,* there are undoubtedly remote ones to be found outside of his theatre. What are the sources of these two plays of Moreto?

Moreto found his suggestion for the subplot of *Hacer remedio el dolor* in Mira de Amescua's *Galán, valiente y discreto.*[67] The duchess Serafina (Amescua's play) would by a series of contests try out her suitors for gallantry, valor, and discretion; in similar fashion, Aurora tests hers for ingenuity and skill. Like Casandra, moreover, the duchess has felt no inclination to marry: "hombres y bodas me ofenden," she declares (I, 1, p. 23). Finally, Flores undoubtedly belongs to the same school of clever servants as Moreto's Tortuga.

El poder de la amistad is, as we have said, nearer to Lope's *Los milagros del desprecio*[68] than is *El desdén con el desdén.* In each case, the protagonist, after having failed to interest the heroine because of the abjectness of his surrender, feigns a shift of affection and a consequent indifference to the charms of the heroine that rapidly bring her to a state of capitulation. In neither case is the heroine addicted to study. Moreover, Motril, like Hernando, acts on the philosophy of "treat-em-rough" and thereby reduces to absolute slavery the disdainful serving-maid who has previously paralleled the actions of her mistress in rejecting the advances of her suitors. Finally, there are details of vocabulary which are quite similar. It is frequently one of the characteristics of Moreto's method of borrowing that

[67] First printed in the *Parte XXIX* of *Comedias de diferentes autores,* Silvestre Esparsa, Valencia, 1636. It may be read in the *B.A.E.,* Vol. XLV.

Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.,* p. xxxv) felt that *Hacer remedio el dolor* recalls Calderón's *Afectos de odio y amor* (First printed *Tercera parte* of Calderón's plays, Ventura de Vergara Salcedo, Madrid, 1664). Cristina undoubtedly disdains all men and even goes as far as to issue "prematicas" against them, only to declare in the end that "women are born vassals of men." While this attitude of the heroine links the play with the general theme of disdain, I see no justification for any particular analogy with *Hacer remedio el dolor.*

[68] First printed in Barcelona, 1633, *Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Parte XXVII.* It may be read in the *B.A.E.,* Vol. XXXIV.

he carries over unusual words or metaphors. Compare, then "jarabes de sufrimiento" and "dejarte jaropear" (*Los milagros*, I, 12, p. 238) with "un jarope que puede tomar un niño (*El poder*, II, 11, p. 31); "la herencia del sofí" (*Los milagros*, III, 7, p. 246) with "la frente del sofí" (*El poder*, II, 11, p. 32); "sodomita" (*Los milagros*, III, 5, p. 245) with "Este amor es sodomía" (*El poder*, I, 5, p. 25); "la purga ha empezado a obrar" (*Los milagros*, I, 16, p. 239) with "Ya van las purgas obrando" (*El poder*, II, 3, p. 29).

It is not impossible that there may be a slight relationship between *El poder de la amistad* and Calderón's *Para vencer a amor, querer vencerle*, which has been pointed out as a possible source for Moreto's masterpiece. It would be necessary, however, to establish the chronology in this case to know whether Moreto or Calderón was the borrower.[69] Aside from the fact that the *graciosos*, Moclín and Espolín, are quite as much alike as Polilla and Espolín, the relationship between Margarita and Alejandro of Moreto's play is identical with that of the protagonists of *Para vencer a amor, querer vencerle*. The heroine in each case is indebted to the hero for her life; yet while admitting the debt, she cannot bring herself to love him because his surrender is too complete. One may in this regard compare Moreto's (I, 3, p. 24)

. . . . La razón
yo os la doy, pero no vale

with Calderón's (II, 17, p. 178)

Digo que tenéis razón,
pero yo no puedo menos.

There is another verbal parallel. One reads in Calderón's play (III, 18, p. 184):

La mina reventando de su pecho,
desdenes y rigores
trocó en halagos . . .

and in Moreto's (III, 8, p. 37 and III, 11, p. 38):

La mina ardió, por quien soy
. . . . . .
que esto ha sido contramina

* * *

What, now, is the relationship of *El desdén con el desdén* to the following plays which have been suggested as sources for Moreto's masterpiece?[70]

1. *Los milagros del desprecio* (Lope), *B.A.E.*, XXXIV. First printed in 1633.
2. *La vengadora de las mujeres* (Lope), *B.A.E.*, XLI. First printed in 1621.
3. *La hermosa fea* (Lope), *B.A.E.*, XXXIV. Produced prior to April, 1632; printed in 1641.

[69] Moreto's play was written in April, 1652, as we have seen. Calderón's *comedia* was first printed in the *Teatro poético de 12 comedias nuevas*, Madrid, 1654. See *B.A.E.*, Vol. XII.

[70] Full information as to the first printed edition of each of these may be found in Miss Harlan's study (*Op. cit.*); or it may be sought in La Barrera's *Catálogo*.

4. *Celos con celos se curan* (Tirso), *B.A.E.*, V. There is a manuscript of 1625 in the Biblioteca Nacional; printed in 1635.
5. *Para vencer a amor, querer vencerle* (Calderón), *B.A.E.*, XII. First printed in 1654.
6. *Galán, valiente y discreto* (Mira de Amescua), *B.A.E.*, XLV. First printed in 1636.
7. *Encontráronse dos arroyuelos* (Juan Vélez de Guevara); see *Comedias en colecciones y escritas con otros autores, Parte XXIII*, Madrid, 1665.
8. *Sin honra no hay amistad* (Rojas Zorrilla), *B.A.E.*, LIV. First printed in 1645.
9. *De cosario a cosario* (Lope), *B.A.E.*, XLI. First printed in 1627.
10. *Comedia Serafina* (Torres Naharro), *Libros de antaño*, IX, Madrid, 1880. Permission to print was given in 1517.
11. *La dama boba* (Lope), R. Schevill, *The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega*, Berkeley, 1918. There is an autograph manuscript of 1613.
12. *El desdén vengado* (Lope), *Obras de Lope de Vega Carpio*, Royal Academy edition, Madrid, 1913, XV. There is an autograph manuscript of 1617. Not printed until 1622.
13. *La boba para los otros y la discreta para sí* (Lope), *B.A.E.*, XXXIV. First published in 1635.
14. *El perro del hortelano* (Lope), *B.A.E.*, XXIV. First published in 1618.
15. *La dama melindrosa* (Lope), *B.A.E.*, XXIV as *Los melindres de Belisa*. First published in 1617.
16. *Los desprecios en quien ama* (Montalbán), No. 259, Joseph y Thomas de Orga, Valencia, 1782. Included in Vol. II of a 3-volume set of *sueltas* of the University of Pennsylvania, made by C. H. Ternaux, Madrid, 1833. The play was acted in 1625.
17. *Despreciar lo que se quiere* (Montalbán), *suelta* without publisher, date, place, or pagination. Included in Vol. I of same 3-volume edition. First published in 1638.
18. *A lo que obliga el desdén* (Salado Garcés), *Escogidas, Parte XXXV*, Madrid, 1671.

I quite agree with Miss Harlan that one should exclude as possible sources for Moreto's masterpiece the seven last mentioned. To these seven I should add *La dama boba* and *Comedia Serafina;* while granting the slight similarities that Miss Harlan points out (*Op. cit.*, pp. 105–106) in the case of those two, they are not sufficient to convince me that Moreto was acquainted with the plays. The same may be said for *De cosario a cosario* and *Sin honra no hay amistad*. Though both of these deal with a heroine who is scornful toward the other sex, and in the case of the latter play, the *gracioso* Sabañón is a kindred spirit to Polilla, the analogies are too general to warrant us in assuming influence. *Encontráronse dos arroyuelos* must be ruled out on the basis of chronology; moreover, the heroine, who scorns men because of her love for study, resembles Laura of *La vengadora de las mujeres* more than she does Diana.

As for *Galán, valiente y discreto*, there is, as we have seen, proof that Moreto was acquainted with it, since it supplied the subplot of *Hacer*

remedio el dolor. Para vencer a amor, querer vencerle has its points of contact with Moreto's *El poder de la amistad*, but the chronology of the two plays must be established before one can say whether Moreto was debtor or creditor. Even if dates permitted, it could not be considered an immediate source for *El desdén con el desdén.*

The first four plays of the list remain. The last of these, *Celos con celos se curan*, as Miss Harlan points out, could have supplied our author with the idea of a lover's battle wherein "scorn is met with scorn" and "jealousy with jealousy." *El desdén con el desdén* touches *La hermosa fea* in that the methods employed by the hero to make the lady fall in love are identical. Moreover, both have the underlying philosophic idea that "apparent indifference to charm impels human nature to overcome that indifference at any cost."

Aside from those comedies found in Moreto's own theatre it is, however, *La vengadora de las mujeres* and *Los milagros del desprecio* that offer the nearest parallels to *El desdén con el desdén.* We have already pointed out the analogies between *El poder de la amistad* and the latter play of Lope. As a matter of fact, the two plays of the Phoenix are so similar that Moreto could have drawn from one or the other the general structure and grouping of characters wherein three suitors are in love with the heroine, though the parallel is closer in the case of *La vengadora de las mujeres* for the Count of Barcelona, father to Diana, has his partial counterpart in Arnaldo, brother to Laura. From either, moreover, he could have taken the character of a heroine who scorns the attentions of the opposite sex, though only Laura (of *La vengadora de las mujeres*) shares with Diana her interest in books. In this latter play, too, he could have found the suggestion for a contest of colors; however, the analogy in this regard is nearer to Amescua's *Galán, valiente y discreto.* Hernando of *Los milagros del desprecio* is undoubtedly the most immediate source of Motril (*El poder de la amistad*) and therefore indirectly of Polilla.

Yet when all is said and done, Moreto's characters in *El desdén con el desdén* are his own. None of his predecessors nor his contemporaries, as far as I know, can offer a prototype for Carlos, though the same character may be found in Moreto's *Hacer remedio el dolor.* As for Polilla, while he is nearer Lope's Hernando than any other *gracioso* outside of Moreto's own theatre, the truth is he is brother in the same guild with Hernando, Flores, Espolín, Sabañon, and a score of others and, like them, must trace his lineage back to the clever sophisticated servant of Plautus and Terence who gained his livelihood by helping his master in his conquests and at times by assuming complete charge of the fortunes of that individual.

Neither can any one point to a single character and say: here is Moreto's source for his heroine. She is like Laura (*La vengadora de las mujeres*) and Ortensia (*Encontráronse dos arroyuelos*) in that she has devoted her life to study and has formed, as a consequence, a disinclination for men and marriage. She has points of contact with Estela (*La hermosa fea*) and Celia (*De cosario a cosario*), for like them she is determined to have revenge for the hero's lack of appreciation of her charms by winning his love and then contemptuously rejecting it. She imitates Serina (*Celos*

con celos se curan) in using jealousy as her weapon—only to find that her opponent can use the same weapon most effectively. She suffers with Celia (*De cosario a cosario*) in that, intent on her own plans, she is caught in the net she has prepared for her opponent. Like all of these, yet quite dissimilar from any one of them, Diana is, when all is said and done, an original character—as original as Shakespeare's Portia or Beatrice.

†*El Eneas de Dios*
and
El Caballero del Sacramento (Lope)

It has been pointed out by Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, 166–167) that the situation of *El Eneas de Dios y Caballero del Sacramento*[71] is taken from a play of Lope's which bears the same title as the second half of Moreto's.[72] The name which Moreto has preferred is to be found, however, within the lines of his predecessor (II, p. 466): "Yo he sido Eneas de Dios."

The initial situation is the same, though the authors have diverged in its later development. On the night before her wedding to the king of Sicily, Gracia of Barcelona decides to elope with her cousin, Don Luis, but her lover, hearing the cry that Santa Olalla is burning, unceremoniously abandons his sweetheart to rush to the rescue of the Holy Sacrament. Gracia's vanity is wounded, and after convincing herself that such rude treatment can only be explained by love on Don Luis' part for her cousin Celia, she marries the king of Sicily and at the same time avenges herself on her rival by carrying her to her new kingdom as lady-in-waiting. Don Luis, feeling that he must justify himself in Gracia's eyes, also departs in disguise for the island. There the king learns of the early affection which existed between his wife and Don Luis, becomes jealous, and decides to take revenge.

At this point the plots diverge. Lope's monarch, in a fit of jealousy, divorces his wife and thereby loses the kingdom of Barcelona to Don Luis, who has been miraculously rescued from a fiery death by the Holy Sacrament. In the later version, the king thrusts his wife into prison and forbids anyone under penalty of death to give her food or water. She is saved from her cruel fate by the kind mercies of her cousin, Celia, and is ultimately freed by the timely arrival of the troops from Barcelona under the command of Don Luis. The king dies in battle, and Gracia renounces the Sicilian throne in favor of her brother, Gastón, who is, most unceremoniously, paired off with Celia.

There is little in the manner of revision that is characteristic of Moreto. In spite of the tendency toward simplification which the reviser has shown in eliminating the two distinct sub-plots of Flor de Lis and

[71] For bibliographical details concerning this play, see p. 144 of this study. The authorship is, in my opinion, *quite* doubtful.

[72] Mentioned in the second *Peregrino* and printed in the *Parte XV* of Lope's plays, 1621. There is an autograph manuscript of 1610. See Rennert y Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1919, p. 467. It may be read in the Royal Academy edition of Lope's works, Vol. VIII.

Juana of Hungary, *El Eneas de Dios* leaves an impression of formlessness. Changes of scene are made with bewildering frequency; characters come and go without rhyme or reason; the stage is left empty any number of times; the dénouement is forced and unnatural. It is difficult to explain such lack of order in a theatre which is noted precisely for the excellence of its technique. (See pp. 42–50 of this study for Moreto's custom in such matters.)

Moreover, the changes wrought in characterization are only in part representative. Without warning, the apparently warm-hearted young king of the first act becomes a madman, ruled only by the thought of offended honor. Hearing the pitiful cries for water of his once beloved wife, he figuratively smacks his lips and declaims (II, p. 29):

¡Qué bien suena aquella voz
a mis oídos! sus quejas
son para mi indignación
lisonjas; muera rabiando,
pues adúltera ofendió
mi majestad.

Salvadero is a pale shadow of Lope's Crispín, quite without the quips and cranks that at times make Moreto's *gracioso* live in one's memory after the rest of the characters have been completely forgotten. On the other hand, the dramatist has softened the spiritual contours of his feminine characters in true Moretean fashion. In their relationship to each other, Lope's termagant has become Gracia, "the gracious," and the vengeful Dorista, a rival so generous as to lend every possible aid to her in her hour of adversity.

El Eneas de Dios shows a more lyrical (if less clever) dialogue than most of Moreto's better-known plays. Moreover, the debt of the dramatist to his sources is, in this regard, greater than is customary with him—particularly in the first act. One finds five *redondillas* (Cf. I, pp. 456–457 of Lope's comedy with Moreto's I, p. 9) and a sonnet (See I, p. 459 and I, p. 11) incorporated without verbal change. There are other single lines scattered throughout this act as well as some five consecutive verses of *romance* in the second act (See lines beginning "y si celebrado fué": II, p. 466 and I, p. 16) which are borrowed verbatim.

The versification, while clearly belonging to the epoch of Moreto, cannot be considered characteristic of him. The percentage of *romances* (76%) is a bit high, that of *redondillas* (10%) correspondingly low. What is more significant, one finds in Act I (pp. 12, 15) a triple series of *romances* (*e-e, a-e, é*) without intervening meter. The second act (p. 29) shows double *laisses* (*ó, í-a*).

**La fingida Arcadia*
and
La fingida Arcadia (Tirso de Molina)

La fingida Arcadia[73] is, in Schaeffer's words (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 284) "a

[73] For bibliographical details, see p. 131 of this study.

reworking of Tirso's play[74] of the same name, suited to the taste of the day." The debt, if it exists at all, is a very small one. Both comedies have used the Arcady theme as outlined by Lope: Tirso, that of the novel; Moreto and his collaborators, that of the *comedia*.[75]

The play associated with Moreto's name may be briefly outlined as follows:

When the king of Cypress dies, he leaves the throne in the hands of his brother Filiberto until such a time as Porcia his daughter shall come of age and shall marry. As that moment draws near, the ambitious regent is unwilling to give up his regal honors and consequently demands that his courtier, Federico, shall deliver to Porcia a poisonous letter the sight of which will cause instant death. Federico, however, loves his princess, and instead of carrying out the orders of the king reveals the plot to her. In order to keep her throne, she feigns madness until Federico can through parliament place her on the throne and take his place by her side as prince consort. This marriage occasions great disappointment to the fickle Enrique, who, on learning of Porcia's insanity, hastily transferred his affections to Casandra, daughter of Filiberto and heiress presumptive to the throne.

A comparison of this résumé with the plot of Lope's play would show few similarities. When Porcia's insanity takes the form of an excursion into Arcady, the chief characters all assume the names of Lope's characters: Porcia is Belisarda; Enrique, Anfriso; Federico, Olimpo; Casandra, Anarda; Carlos (another suitor of Porcia's), Salicio. Moreover, the love tangle of Porcia, Enrique, and Casandra affords a perfect parallel for that of their respective prototypes in Lope's comedy. There is nothing of the uncle's ambitious dreams nor of the poisoned letter, in Lope's play—nor for that matter, in Tirso's.

The dénouement of the play is Moreto's own. Lope in his comedy had

[74] First printed in *Parte tercera* of Tirso's plays, Francisco Martorell, Tortosa, 1634. For a modern edition, see *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, *N.B.A.E.*, Vol. IV, Madrid, 1906.

[75] The novel may be read in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. XXXVIII; the comedy in the same collection, Vol. XLI.

Proof that Tirso used the novel may be found in the verses quoted in Tirso's play (I, 2, p. 436) which are taken from the novel of Lope (Book 4, p. 106). Furthermore, the Arcadian name which the *viejo*, Hortensio, assumes in Tirso's comedy is Clorinaldo, a name that is used for the corresponding character in the novel but is not found in the play of Lope.

On the other hand, it is evident that Moreto and his collaborators used the comedy of Lope rather than the novel, for the characters of Flora and Bato, found in both Moreto's play and Lope's, are not encountered in the pastoral novel or in Tirso's work. The same may be said of the name Ergasto (See Moreto, Act II, 2, p. 544) which is to be found only in Lope's dramatic production. The Arcadian names which the minor characters Carlos and Filiberto assume (Salicio and Cardenio respectively) are not found in Tirso's comedy, though they occur in both of Lope's works.

abandoned the unhappy ending of his novel (wherein the heroine marries Salicio in a moment of jealousy) and had paired her off with Anfriso, thereby giving it the conventional happy ending. And in this regard, Tirso had followed the play rather than the novel. Moreto evidently felt, however, that the faithfulness of Federico deserved some reward and so gives the fair heroine to him (III, 22, p. 556):

porque se vea
En el *Arcadia fingida*
El premio de las finezas.

The debt of the later play to Tirso's is so small that its very existence might be questioned. Moreto apparently followed the Maestro de la Merced in modernizing the setting. Both heroines pretend insanity—in order to accomplish quite different ends, however—and in each case this mental aberration leads to a sojourn in Arcady. The parallel of the heroine's madness with that of Don Quijote occurs to both dramatists. (See Moreto, III, 11, p. 552 and Tirso, I, 1, p. 436.)

There are no verbal parallels except that each play quotes the proverb *Un bobo hace ciento.* (See Moreto, II, 2, p. 544 and Tirso, III, 1, p. 451.) I believe that Moreto was acquainted with Tirso's play, but I do not consider such evidence conclusive.

**La fuerza del natural*
and
Cuando no se aguarda y príncipe tonto (Leyva Ramírez)

Mesonero Romanos[76] states that *La fuerza del natural* is an imitation of Leyva's *Cuando no se aguarda y príncipe tonto.* There is unquestionably a relationship between the two, but it would be necessary to establish the chronology of the two plays before one can say who is the debtor, who the creditor.

Moreto's comedy was first published in 1661,[77] and I am inclined to think it written a year or so previous to that date; Leyva's play first appeared in the *Parte XL* of the *Escogidas*, 1675.[78] We have no dates for Leyva's life, but the earliest publication of his is *El socorro de los mantos*, which appeared in *Parte XXXI* of the *Escogidas*, 1669. If we may judge by the dates of his other publications, he reached the heights of his literary fame during the decade of the '70's. Such facts are far from conclusive, but they indicate that in this case Leyva was the borrower, not Moreto.

The story of *La fuerza del natural* is as follows: Julio and Carlos have been reared as brothers by Roberto, vassal of the duke of Ferrara, until such a time as circumstances will permit the latter to recognize Julio as his son. He is eventually taken to court where his father plans to marry him to the lovely Aurora, but it is soon evident that he is incapable of

[76] *B.A.E.*, Vol. XLII, *Apuntes biográficos*, p. xxvii.

[77] See pp. 132–133 of this study for full bibliographical details of this work.

[78] *Parte quarenta de Comedias nuevas de diversos autores*, Julián de Paredes, Madrid, 1675.

culture and that all efforts of Carlos, who has accompanied him to the duke's, will never make him anything but a country bumpkin, interested in food, wine, and his Dulcinea. Carlos, on the other hand, who has for some time been in love with Aurora, proves to be the perfect courtier in spite of his early surroundings and education. It is discovered (just in time to prevent Aurora from being pledged to Alejandro, duke of Urbino) that the wife of Roberto had substituted her child in infancy for that of the duke and that Carlos is therefore the one of gentle birth. He, of course, marries Aurora and Alejandro contents himself with Camila, cousin to Aurora.

A general outline of Leyva's play would differ from the one just given only in the names. However, events have been changed, the relationship of the various characters somewhat altered, and many details of plot changed. For instance, those first scenes of Moreto, which were clearly written to emphasize the contrast between the boorish Julio and the discrete Carlos in their home surroundings, have been omitted. Camila loves Alejandro, but in Leyva's play her counterpart Estela is in love with Fadrique (Moreto's Carlos); as a result there are episodes of misunderstanding between the lovers which are lacking in Moreto's comedy.

Some scenes of Leyva's work have parallels in *La fuerza del natural.* In both we see the arrival of the two men at court,[79] the attempts of the clever brother to supply the conversational deficiencies of the other,[80] the final scenes of each play wherein the identity of each is established. There are other vague analogies of scene.

I have noted no verbal similarities.

Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso and *Los hermanos enemigos* (Guillén de Castro)

Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, aptly characterized by Schaeffer as a "piece fashioned with paste and scissors," is, as that critic has pointed out (*Op. cit.,* II, p. 161), a reworking of Guillén de Castro's *Los hermanos enemigos.*[81] By contrast with its virile source, it is so lacking in vigor of characterization and dialogue as to be the only one of the *Primera parte* (1654) which Fernández-Guerra did not include in his collection for the *B.A.E.*

Moreto's plot is as follows: Sancho, son of the count of Urgel, wishes to marry Lady Rosana, but his plans are complicated by the fact that the king of Aragon wishes to honor him by giving him the hand of his own sister, the Infanta. The situation is made still more difficult by the envy of his own brother, García, who is abetted by their powerful uncle, Don

[79] Moreto, I, 14, pp. 215–216 and Leyva, I, pp. 340–341.

[80] Moreto, II, 3, pp. 217–218 and Leyva, II, pp. 349–350. The scene of Leyva takes place at the balcony; it is one which immediately recalls a similar one in Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac.*

[81] First published in 1625. See Eduardo Juliá Martínez, *Obras de D. Guillén de Castro,* Vol. III both for the date (p. v.) and the text.

Gastón. The latter presents to the king a letter written by the countess of Urgel, in which it is declared that Sancho is not her son nor the count's, but instead that he is the son of the gardener. Sancho straightway is stripped of his honors and put to menial labor. Only Rosana and the count, his father, refuse to believe the story. Ultimately, it is revealed that Sancho is half-brother to the king: their mother had, after the death of her husband, secretly married the count of Urgel. Sancho is married to his beloved Rosana, García to the sister of the king.

The two comedies agree in their general outlines, except in the resolution of the mystery which surrounds the protagonist's birth. Neither dénouement is a happy one. Moreto's story, that of a mysterious letter (for years misplaced), which is, in the darkness of the prison, delivered to the hero instead of to the villain (III, p. 33), is but little more plausible than Castro's marvellous tale of a hermit (III, pp. 36–38) who appears at the opportune moment to solve matters for the protagonist.

In characterization, the most outstanding change is the substitution of the colorless character of the uncle, Don Gastón, for the venomous duchess, supposed mother of the protagonist. The exchange of characters is an unfortunate one, for the canvas of family life which Guillén de Castro holds up to view is as realistic a bit as anything that came from Goya's brush. Unfortunately, too, Moreto has also replaced the philosophic Lombardo, he who is "honrado en el corazón" and "bufón en la corteza," with the rustics Chapado and Marina and the contentious Laín. Amusing though these be, they cannot compensate for the loss of this soldier-lackey who is surely spokesman for the embittered Castro when he complains (II, p. 19):

> . . . El mundo solo mira
> las superficies no más.
> ¡Cuántos con ostentación
> arrogante y entonada,
> valientes en la opinión,
> llevan desnuda la espada
> y vestido el corazón!
> Y, ¡cuántos de suerte están
> que parece que hacen raya
> en lo hermoso y lo galán,
> y en lo que cubre la saya
> sabe Dios lo que serán!

Rosana is less daring and more decorous, less the Amazon and more the conventional lady of the court; she attains to some degree of color only when, displeased with the excessive humility of her lover in his fall, she tells him (III, p. 28) that "to confess ignoble blood when one has it not, is a greater crime than to have it and conceal the fact." Sancho, likewise, is less the ambitious prince and more the perfect lover, and García, though he has in reality less of the milk of human kindness than his prototype Ceslau, is more courteous in things external.

Neither the dialogue nor the versification of Moreto's play gives evi-

dence of any influence of Guillén de Castro's. The latter shows a virility that forms a vivid contrast with the feeble lines of *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*. All things considered, the play gives the impression of a youthful effort, and one wonders just why Moreto included it in his first volume when such a play as *El Parecido en la corte* was omitted.

El Licenciado Vidriera and *El Licenciado Vidriera* (Cervantes)

The debt of *El Licenciado Vidriera* to Cervantes' *novela* of the same name, while obvious, is nevertheless not great. Moreto himself vaguely alludes to this relationship in his concluding verses, declaring it "el Licenciado Vidriera sin novela." Play and novel concur in expressing the bitter philosophic truth that society will often pay handsomely for the remarks of a madman whose antics tickle its fancy while refusing a bare existence to that same man if sane. There are essential differences, however. The protagonist of each work conceives himself a "man of glass," but in the earlier work it is due to actual insanity which has resulted from a love philter; in the other, the rôle is feigned in order to wrench a livelihood from a world that knows not how to appreciate intellect, courage, and generosity. Moreto's charge against humanity is the graver one, then. Cervantes would accuse it only of careless, unseeing cruelty; Moreto would complain of its ingratitude as well. It is those whom the Licentiate has befriended most that turn a deaf ear to his pleas. The duke in the selfishness of his love is a tool in the hands of the villain, Lisardo, and therefore utterly oblivious of the pain of Carlos, who has twice given him the throne; Laura, intrenched in her ideals of filial obedience, conceives it her duty to follow the wishes of her father by marrying Lisardo, even though Carlos' whole life has been consecrated to her devotion; Lisardo, in his love for Laura, argues that all is fair in love and therefore leaves his childhood friend (who has twice secured him in the possession of his estate) wounded, penniless, impotent, to the tender mercies of a uninterested doctor and the "dos mil chinches" of a country inn. The thesis is weakened, however, (1) because too many of Carlos' misfortunes are due to chance[82] (2) because of the happy ending given to the play.

There are details that would indicate that Moreto had read recently the work of Cervantes,[83] but one is surprised that he rejected the aphorisms that the protagonist of the novel casts before his persecutors. It is true that Gerundio tells Casandra (III, 9, 265):

> El os sacará *aforismos*
> para que un colchón le quiebre,

but only a very loose definition of the term could include the specific accu-

[82] As Gerundio points out (I, p. 249) Carlos' star is unfavorable and:

> si premios lloviera aquí
> no se viniera uno a ti
> si no es a descalabrarte.

sations that Carlos hurls against his enemies. Our author, then, is indebted to Cervantes only for the general philosophic idea and the conception of character it involves.

* * *

Señores Hurtado de la Serna and González Palencia feel[84] that *El Licenciado Vidriera* recalls Lope de Vega's *La necedad del discreto*[85] and Matos Fragoso's *El yerro del entendido*.[86] It is true that all three have protagonists who have distinguished themselves at Bologna and that the chief character in each play either feigns or else actually experiences insanity, but with these details, comparison must cease. Such vague points of contact do not point to indebtedness on Moreto's part. The play of Matos is, however, clearly fashioned on that of Lope, and this, in turn, is a borrowing from Cervantes' *El curioso impertinente.*

El lindo Don Diego and *El Narciso en su opinión* (Guillén de Castro)

In so far as I know, Leandro Fernández de Moratín was the first to point out that Moreto had used Guillén de Castro's *El Narciso en su opinión*[87] as a source for his *El lindo Don Diego*.[88] The latter title was probably a proverbial phrase by Moreto's day, since Calderón's *El astrólogo fingido*, published in 1632, and Lope's *La defensa en la verdad*, written before 1635, both contain it. It even existed in Guillén de Castro's day in slightly varied form, for Don Pedro applies the term "gentil Don Diego" to Gutierre. (II, p. 337).

The plot of Moreto's comedy, in broad outline, is identical with *El Narciso en su opinión*, but there are some slight changes in the relationship of the characters. In our dramatist's play, Inés, the daughter of Don Tello, loves Don Juan, but she has been pledged by her father to the dapper Don Diego. The lovers are in despair until the clever Mosquito, servant to Don Juan, finds a solution: the maid Beatriz, dressed up as a

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[83] Compare the *vademecum* (Moreto I, 8, p. 253) with *vademecum, El Licenciado Vidriera*, p. 110, Rennert edition.

[84] *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1921, p. 734.

[85] Published in *Parte XXV*, Zaragoza, 1647. The present study was based on that text.

[86] First published in *Primera parte de comedias de Matos Fragoso*, Julián de Paredes, Madrid, 1658. As Moreto's play was published before 1648 (See p. 19 of this study), it is not probable that Matos' play was written before Moreto's. It may be read in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. XLVIII.

[87] First published in *Parte segunda de las comedias de Don Guillén de Castro*, Miguel Sorolla, Valencia, 1625. It may be read in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. XLVII.

[88] Fernández-Guerra points out the relationship (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxvi) but states that he is indebted to Moratín for the suggestion. Moreto's play was first published in the *Parte XVIII* of the *Escogidas*, Gregorio Rodríguez, Madrid, 1662. It was probably written within a year preceding its publication.

lady of high station, so plays on the vanity and greed of the gullible young dandy that he refuses the hand of the heroine. The secondary love theme is that of Doña Leonor, sister to Inés, and Don Mendo, cousin to Don Diego. This story crosses the main plot on several occasions when jealousy leads to misunderstandings.

It is interesting to note which scenes of *El Narciso en su opinión* Moreto has retained and to analyse the additions and subtractions he has made. In both plays, the audience is allowed to spy on the protagonist as he completes his elaborate toilet (*El Narciso*, 1, pp. 325–327 and *El lindo* I, 8) and on the *gracioso* as he draws his word picture of the dandy for his listeners (*El Narciso*, I, p. 328 and *El lindo* I, 5). In both it is our good fortune to be present at the meeting which takes place between the girls and the men to whom their father has betrothed them (*El Narciso*, I, pp. 329–330 and *El lindo*, I, 12); to see the maid as she receives Don Diego (in Castro's play, Don Gutierre) in the rôle of countess (*El Narciso*, II, pp. 335–336 and *El lindo*, II, 8); to witness the quarrel between Don Mendo (Castro's Don Gonzalo) and Don Juan (the Marqués of Castro) which nearly results in a duel (*El Narciso*, p. 338 and *El lindo*, III, 3–4).[89] In no place has Moreto borrowed the dialogue or the versification.

Moreto's reasons for the omission of certain scenes, in part or in whole, may ordinarily be classified under two heads: (1) his care to preserve the dignity of his characters (See *El Narciso* II, 24 and III, 1–3, 10–11); (2) his desire to subordinate the sub-plot of Doña Leonor and Don Mendo and thus make stand forth in relief the main triangle of Doña Inés and her suitors (*El Narciso* II, 3, 8–9, 21–23; III, 6, 13–14). In Guillén de Castro's comedy, the two love stories were of almost equal importance; in Moreto's on the other hand, the love affair of Don Mendo and Doña Leonor is of interest only in that it serves to prevent the course of true love from running too smoothly for Don Juan and Doña Inés.

The scenes which Moreto has added may ordinarily be explained either by the dramatic necessity of complicating the love affair of Don Juan and Doña Inés or by the desire of the author to heighten the comic effect. In the first group come such scenes as the two of jealousy between the lovers, Don Juan's protestations of innocence, etc. (*El lindo*, I, 2–3; II, 17; III, 2, 4, 7–9). In the latter, we must include those having to do with Don Tello and the veiled lady (I, 6–7; II, 13–15; III, 2, 12) and more especially, those which tend to heighten the caricature of Don Diego (I, 9; II, 2, 4–5).

In developing his vain protagonist and his clever *gracioso*, Moreto has chosen colors that are so much more vivid, has used strokes that are so much bolder, that he has transformed Castro's comedy of manners into a *comedia de figurón*. But if these two characters are portrayed more firmly than Castro's, the same cannot be said for some of the others. Don Pedro with the egotistic pride of the self-made man; the impulsive young Marquis who, with the disarming frankness of a child, confesses his errors and is so anxious to win the heroine that he will, if necessary, renounce his own

[89] Besides those named, one finds scenes in *El Narciso* which roughly parallel the following in *El lindo:* I, 11; II, 1, 2, 3; III, 12.

title and accept that of his father-in-law; Doña Brianda who dares to tell a harsh father that it is her right to choose her husband, who complains that "only the woman of honor is without free will"; Don Gonzalo who expects to win the favor of the ladies of Madrid with doubloons rather than doublets: these characters are undeniably drawn with more vigor (if less consistency, at times) in Castro's work than in Moreto's.

Lo que puede la aprehensión
and
Mirad a quien alabáis (Lope), *La celosa de sí misma* (Tirso), etc.

Even though *Lo que puede la aprehensión* is a mediocre play,[90] it is an interesting example of our author's methods, one which shows his skill in deftly interweaving materials drawn from various sources. Into his loom have gone threads from three different plays:[91] *La celosa de sí misma* (Tirso), *La desdicha de la voz* (Calderón), *Mirad a quien alabáis* (Lope de Vega).[92]

There is in the Biblioteca Nacional a manuscript of Moreto's comedy entitled *Lo que puede la aprensión, o sea La celosa de sí misma.* (See Paz y Melia, *Op. cit.*, No. 3916, p. 607.) Moreover, the first half of the title is also to be found in Tirso's comedy (II, 9, p. 140). Magdalena, marvelling over her lover's inconsistency, comments:

Mal ha dicho destos ojos;
. . . . . .
y *puede la aprensión tanto*
que es bastante solo un manto
a amallos y a aborrecellos.

Moreto's debt to Tirso is not one of title alone; from him he drew also the idea of a romantic, impractical youth who falls in love with a lady whose features he has never seen. In the earlier play it is a beautiful hand which serves as so much tinder to the young dreamer's imagination; in

[90] Thomas Corneille's *Le charme de la voix* (See *Poëmes dramatiques*, Bachelu, Lyon, 1698, Vol. 1) was taken from Moreto's play. In the *Epistre* which precedes his work, he tells us that the original comedy had been received with great applause in Madrid but that his own had failed in Paris. As Corneille's play was written in 1653, Moreto's evidently precedes that date, though it was not published until 1654 in the *Primera parte*. Whether the Frenchman made use of a manuscript or whether he had before him a *suelta* now lost to us, I cannot say.

[91] Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 166) pointed out Moreto's debt to Tirso and Lope. Georg Michaelis' *Die sogennanten "comedies espagnoles" des Thomas Corneille* (Berlin, 1915, p. x) adds Calderón's play as a third source.

[92] Tirso's play was first published in *Doce comedias nuevas del maestro Tirso de Molina*, Madrid, 1627. See La Barrera, *Op. cit.*, p. 387. The play may be conveniently read in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. V. Calderón's comedy was printed first in *Parte XLIII de comedias de diferentes autores*, Juan de Ibarra, Zaragoza, 1650. See La Barrera, *Op. cit.*, pp. 54, 686. It may be found, too, in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. XIV. Lope de Vega's play appeared in the *Parte XVI* of his plays, 1621. It is available in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. LII.

the later, it is a golden voice. In both comedies the hero, because of his love, holds in contempt the excellent alliance which has been arranged for him, and in both the heroine keeps her real identity a secret in order thus to test the stability of her lover. In Tirso's play, as fate will have it, the beautiful hand belongs to the very lady to whom he has been betrothed. But in Moreto's, the owner of the voice is not the girl to whom he is pledged.

The characterization of our author is entirely independent of *La celosa de sí misma*. The dialogue, on the other hand, is on two or three occasions reminiscent of that of the Maestro de la Merced. Moreto has given us an expurgated version of Tirso's story of the gallant who followed a woman up the street, only to discover when she suddenly faced him that she was a negress.[93] Moreover, the *graciosos* of the two plays are equally skeptical when their romantic young masters would argue that the lady must be fair because of the beauty of her hand or of her voice.[94]

The debt which Moreto owes Calderón is so small that one would hesitate to make the assertion that *La desdicha de la voz* suggested to him the exchange of a beautiful voice for the lovely hand of Tirso's heroine, were it not that he has carried over a fragment of a song from this play. Fenisa, the heroine of *Lo que puede la aprehensión*, sings (II, 6, p. 176):

Yo quiero bien,
y este amor de otro se infiere;
que aunque soy yo la que quiere,
no sé a quien.

Compare with this the song of Calderón's protagonist (II, 28, p. 102):

Yo quiero bien;
mas no he de decir a quién.

Far greater is the indebtedness of *Lo que puede la aprehensión* to Lope de Vega's *Mirad a quien alabáis*. In the latter comedy, the king of Naples is betrothed to the duchess of Milan whose arrival he expects at any moment, but he is in love with Celia, sister to Don César de Avalos. Consequently, he gives orders that the lady from Milan be escorted back to her estates. The duchess, highly incensed at this rebuff, offers her hand to César, who has acted as ambassador in the matter. He accepts but feels obliged to concoct an elaborate plan by which he may appear loyal to his sovereign. The plan is not successful, and when the king learns the real situation, Don César is thrown into prison. Disguised as queen of Hungary, the duchess now makes her way to Naples in order to free her lover. The fickle king finds her most attractive and declares himself ready to transfer his affections from Celia to her. She remains faithful to César, however, and by a ruse she not only wins his freedom for him but obtains the king's consent to their marriage.

The story of César and the duchess, which in Lope's play forms the chief interest, has been woven into Moreto's as the subplot. In this trans-

[93] *La celosa de sí misma*, I, 3, p. 130; *Lo que puede la aprehensión*, II, 1, p. 173.

[94] Cf. *Lo que puede la aprehensión* (I, 4, p. 169) with *La celosa de sí misma* (I, 3, and II, 2, pp. 130, 136).

fer, the duchess, suffers little change of character. César, on the other hand, has been transformed. An utterly contemptible figure in Lope's play because of his cowardice, his cold and calculating ambition, his toadying and his insincere adoration of honor, he has in *Lo que puede la aprehensión* become the typical romantic lover, hot-tempered, conceited, torn between love and honour. The protagonist of Moreto's play (the duke of Milan) while corresponding *in position* to the king of Naples, likewise forms a contrast in characterization to that monarch. Lope's protagonist is in his affections as variable as the south wind; the duke on the other hand is an idealist who has fashioned a girl of his dreams and who is willing to sacrifice a kingdom for the lovely voice which symbolizes that dream. The *graciosos* of the two plays touch only in that they share an opportunistic philosophy which leads them to criticise severely the romanticism of their masters. Fenisa, the one character of distinction, is of Moreto's own fashioning.

El más ilustre francés, San Bernardo
and
El diablo predicador (Luis de Belmonte)

One must grant the general similarity which Fernández-Guerra finds (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxvii) between a scene of Moreto's *El más ilustre francés, San Bernardo* and Luis de Belmonte's *El diablo predicador*.[95] A comparison of the two plays shows little direct relationship, however. The humor of the scene in *El diablo predicador* consists in the prompt appearance of the devil every time that Fray Antolín wishes to eat and in the devil's insistence that the friar give away in the name of charity the rich viands that he has hidden in his sleeves for his own delight. Colín, the *gracioso* of Moreto's play, is likewise forced by San Bernardo to renounce the banquet he has before him and to give himself thirty lashes for his gluttony. Antolín, however, is a *figurón* character "whose stomach is ever an abyss for which double rations are but as two acorns" whereas Colín is merely starved from long fasting.

The scene in question is, I feel, nearer to one in *La Vida y muerte de San Cayetano*[96] than to Belmonte's play, and the character of Colín has much more in common with Cervantes' Sancho than with Fray Antolín. Indeed, there are various evidences that would tend to show that Moreto had recently read *Don Quijote* when writing *El más ilustre francés:* among them, references to Don Quijote, Merlín, Gaiferos. Then the "thirty blows" recall those which Sancho was asked to give himself; finally, the relations between the idealistic master and the materialistic, though loyal, servant, seem to reflect *Don Quijote.*

El mejor amigo el rey
and
Cautela contra cautela (?)

Fernández-Guerra's statement (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxvii) in regard to *El mejor amigo el rey*, "tampoco desaprovechó nuestro autor tal cual rasgo del drama *Cautela contra cautela*,"[97] is misleading. The truth is that the plays are, so far as theme, plot, order of events, and layout of characters

are concerned, virtually identical. It is true that there is little resemblance in phraseology and that there seems to be no influence of the versification of the original on Moreto's comedy, but there are conceits,[98] details of characterization, and, occasionally, identical lines[99] which show that Moreto had a copy of *Cautela contra cautela* near at hand while writing *El mejor amigo el rey*. Of the fifty-six scenes that make up our author's play, forty-one (I, 1–6, 8–10; II, 1, 4–5, 7–8, 10–11, 18, 20–25; III, 1, 3–4, 6–11, 14–17, 19–23) have their partial or complete equivalents in Tirso's; and of the twenty-six that Moreto has rejected (one in the first act, eleven in the second, and fourteen in the third), nearly all have been eliminated because of his conception of stage mechanics. There are twenty-two added (five in the first, six in the second, and eleven in the third), most of which are to strengthen the characterization, to better the motivation, or to increase the comic element.

The theme that friendship can be tested only in the crucible of adversity was a popular one with both Tirso and Moreto. To exemplify this thesis, each author presents a certain prince Enrique, dearly beloved of the king, who pretends to the court that he has lost royal favor. In each case the protagonist discovers which servant, which friend, which sweetheart is faithful to him, and his sovereign, by this same ruse, is enabled to find out who are the malcontents that are plotting against his realm. The few changes in the plot are not significant: Moreto seems to have omitted many details as unessential to the development of the action.

Moreto has kept all except two of the characters of his source (Celio and one of the conspirators), but he has drawn them all with a much firmer hand. Lines which were merely traced by Tirso have been inked in by Moreto. The king is more loyal in his friendship for Enrique and, therefore, less easily deceived by the tricks of the traitors. Alejandro and Felipo stand forth in their plotting, haughty, astute, domineering the one; servile, cautious, and hypocritical the other. Isabel, a quite colorless *graciosa* in

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[95] The latter play was first printed in *Parte VI* of the *Escogidas*, Zaragoza, 1653, but there are 3 manuscripts two of which bear the date of 1635. See La Barrera, p. 30. It may be read in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. XLV.

[96] *La Vida y muerte de San Cayetano*, Act II, pp. 335–336.

[97] The authorship of this play is uncertain. It was first printed in the *Segunda parte de las comedias del Maestro Tirso de Molina* (Madrid, 1635) and it is included with Tirso's plays in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. V. However, I agree with Hartzenbusch (See *B.A.E.*, Vol. V, p. xxxix) that it has in it much that is characteristic of Alarcón. The richness of the lyrical and the virility of style point to Tirso, but the theme, the orderliness of plot construction, the contrast of selfishness and generosity of spirit afforded by Elena and Porcia would, in my opinion, point to Alarcón. There is perhaps a reference in the play itself to Tirso in the remark of Macarrón to Tirso, (I, 15, p. 607).

[98] Cf. "Hoy es sebo y antes cera," *El mejor amigo el rey*, II, 1, p. 607, with "A sebo nos trae de cera," *Cautela contra cautela*, II, 19, p. 510.

[99] "¡Que haya en el mundo estos hombres!" (III, 4, p. 513 of Tirso and III, 9, p. 616 of Moreto.) There are a very few others.

Tirso's work, has become Flora, a clever little minx who deals out flattery in anything but homeopathic doses to the vain Porcia, or who holds a court of her own when dealing with the attentions of her lackey rivals, Macarrón and Lelio. Macarrón and Eduardo have, on the other hand, changed little, and the contrast between the unselfish Laura and the ambitious Porcia has been faded rather than deepened in their transfer from Tirso's pages to Moreto's. Likewise, the friendship of Carlos is stressed more in the original than in *El mejor amigo el rey*.

As for the construction, the comedy that Moreto had before him was an orderly piece of work, and proof that our dramatist recognized it as such lies in the fact that he made very few changes in it. There has been some shuffling of the order of events and a tendency to simplification of stage mechanics. For instance, Moreto does not have the elaborate scenes of introduction which precede the arrival of new characters on the stage in Tirso's play. On the other hand, one is struck unfavorably by the choppiness of the scenes in the last act of both plays.

I quite agree with Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 166) that the comedy of Moreto is inferior in diction to its source, but I do not feel *Cautela contra cautela* superior in plot development. In character portrayal, our dramatist's comedy shows a distinct gain over the earlier play.

**El mejor par de los doce* and *Las pobrezas de Reinaldos* (Lope)

El mejor par de los doce,[100] written in collaboration with Matos Fragoso, is, as Schaeffer has pointed out (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 281), a reworking of Lope's *Las pobrezas de Reinaldos*.[101] The debt of the two dramatists is a considerable one. In the first half of the play (Matos' part), many lines of the original have been kept and, in Moreto's part, paraphrases of long speeches are not uncommon:[102] even the sequence of scenes is often the same—particularly in the last half of Act I and the first half of Act III.

The plots of the two plays vary little. In both, Reinaldos, angered by the arrogant presumption of the unworthy Galalón, slaps his opponent and is, as a result, banished from the Round Table. However, the loyalty and generosity which he displays toward Charlemagne eventually win out against the treachery and cowardice of Galalón, and the protagonist again takes his place of honor with the emperor.

In shortening Lope's play by some 450 lines, in eliminating the rôles of Malgesí (a wizard) and Delio (Reinaldo's young son), in telescoping the

[100] First published in the *Parte XXXIX* of the *Escogidas*, José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1673.

[101] The play, mentioned in the first list of the *Peregrino* (1604) and printed in the *Parte* VII (1617), is to be found in the Royal Academy Edition, Vol. XIII.

[102] See, as examples, the emperor's address to Florante (*El mejor par*, II, pp. 17–18 and *Las pobrezas*, II, p. 270); Reinaldo's speech to the king (*El mejor par*, III, pp. 23–24 and *Las pobrezas*, III, pp. 276–277); Armelinda's words (*El mejor par*, II, pp. 18–19 and *Las pobrezas*, II, p. 271).

time from ten years and more to a few days, Moreto and Matos have, as we should expect, produced a more orderly and economical play than the original. And this is true, even though our dramatist's comedy is, from the standpoint of structure, more of a chronicle play than Lope's: the episode wherein Reinaldos angers the king, which in the earlier play is given in narrative form as so much expository background, has in Moreto's and Matos' comedy been expanded to form the first five scenes of the play.

This gain in technique can not compensate for the loss in spirit. Lope's work is most unequal, as Menéndez y Pelayo has pointed out, but it is saved from utter mediocrity by two splendid passages. In the first of these (II, pp. 268–269), Claricia reviews the injustice that has been done her husband in a *romance* of such vigorous lines that Depping admitted it among his "antiguos caballerescos." In the second (III, pp. 288–289), Reinaldos establishes his innocence and humiliates those who had thought to mock him. The majesty of these scenes has been completely lost in *El mejor par de los doce.* The splendid lines of the final scene with their magnificent epic swing have become insignificant and lustreless.

This same tendency toward the prosaic is evidenced in other ways. In eliminating the parts of the child Delio and of Malgesí (who on rare occasions practices his talents of wizardry), the collaborators have eliminated respectively the pathetic and the supernatural. In adding Coquín, a *gracioso* who is thoroughly characteristic of Moreto, our author takes still another step out of the land of fantasy. Even the change in the protagonist tends toward the conventional and commonplace. Lope had followed tradition in making Reinaldos a bandit, although his character is sufficiently punctilious to take only what he needs for his wife and child. Moreto evidently felt that his paragon of knighthood could not under any circumstances stoop to theft. In a word the Reinaldos of epic tradition has become the idealized courtier of Philip IV, that lifeless monarch whom Machado has characterized so aptly.

La misma conciencia acusa
and
Despertar a quien duerme (Lope)

La misma conciencia acusa, or *Despertar a quien duerme*, is, as Schaeffer has pointed out (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 166), taken from a play of Lope which carries a name that is identical with that of the second title[103] of Moreto's comedy. As the title would indicate, Lope would stress the danger of "awakening sleeping dogs" whereas Moreto didactically insists (III, 18, p. 120) that man's own conscience will betray him:

. . . y este ejemplo
dé escarmiento a los que tratan
de hacer secretos delitos;
pues si cautelas los callan,

[103] Lope's play was published in the *Parte VIII* of Lope's works, Barcelona, 1617. It may be read in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. XLI.

la misma conciencia acusa,
que es el testigo del alma.[104]

The duke of Parma, whose conscience is burdened with the guilt of having unjustly robbed his nephew, Carlos, of the throne of Parma, cannot believe his favorite, Enrique, when he reports that Carlos is living in philosophic contentment on a country estate, indifferent to the luxuries of the court. Moved by a fear that is wholly unjustified, the monarch brings the latter to the palace to see if he can make him reveal the hate and envy which he feels sure must reside within the depths of his victim's soul, and eventually he thrusts him in prison. Awakened at last—in part by this injustice, in part by his love for the tyrant's daughter, who is being summarily married off to Enrique—Carlos gets word of his plight to the duke of Milán. With the aid of the latter, together with that of the princess and of his faithful servant Tirso, the protagonist is enabled at last to regain his throne and, what is more important, to win the hand of the fair Margarita. Enrique marries Estela, sister to Carlos.

Lope's situation, if outlined in similar fashion, would differ from the summary here given: (1) in the detail that Rugero (Carlos' counterpart) is not taken to court; (2) in that the protagonist feigns affection for the queen of Sicily in order to secure her aid in battle. Moreto eliminated this subordinate plot of the queen, who does not enter until the third act of Lope's play, and put in its place the love story of Enrique and Estela. The last change is in every way characteristic: in dramatic technique, because it does away with a subplot which was obviously dragged in to the third act for the sole purpose of delaying the dénouement; in characterization because it makes more attractive the figures of the hero and heroine. In fact, Lope's ambitious hero with his opportunistic philosophy of life and his jealous heroine with her Amazonian methods have been transformed into models of dignity and decorum. It is noteworthy, however, that the heroine, unlike any other that we have met in our author's theatre, appears for a moment dressed in man's attire, excusing herself with the remark (II, p. 113) that:

Pueda el amor y la piedad un día
más que la propia conveniencia mía.

Unfortunately, with this gain in dignity of characterization,[105] there is a corresponding loss of vigor in style.

In comparing the duke and Enrique with their counterparts in Lope's play, one finds little change. Tirso,[106] too, in his verbal mixups and in his faith in the unlimited power which the office of mayor carries, clearly finds his predecessor in the Perote of Lope. However, he is a more vital part of

[104] These are the closing lines of the play.

[105] The gain as well as the loss are at once summed up in the transformation which Moreto has wrought in the last scene of Act II of Lope's play.

[106] Tirso "in armor" and in his encounter with his master in the darkness of the prison is slightly reminiscent of Sancho's tribulations in Barataria and of his underground encounter with Don Quijote.

the plot since much of the action of the third act of Moreto's play hinges on his rôle. And, we may add in passing, the last of the second act and the first of the third offer some rare good scenes of fun.

As is ordinarily true, Moreto's versification shows no influence of Lope's play, and while fourteen scenes[107] out of the fifty-three of Moreto have partial parallels in Lope, there are few instances where one may say that the dialogue shows any likeness to that of the original. The closest resemblence in tone, general content, and phraseology is found in the eighth scene of Act I, p. 104. Here there are two lines taken from the source:

¿Puedo comer y vestir
más que por un hombre? No.

Compare with this Lope's question (I, 4, p. 346):

¿Puedo comer y vestir
más de por un hombre yo?

**No hay reino como el de Dios*
and
‡*Dejar un reino por otro* (Monroy y Silva?)

No hay reino como el de Dios is not, as Señor Cotarelo thinks, (*Bibliografía*, p. 25), a variant form of *Dejar un reino por otro*, nor has its author used Lope's *Los mártires de Madrid* as a source.[108] Rather it is a complete reworking of *Dejar un reino por otro*, which is, in my opinion, incorrectly attributed to Moreto.

The plot of *Dejar un reino por otro*, briefly told, is as follows: Enrique, having fled from Spain after killing a man whom he believes to be the lover of his sweetheart, Flora, is taken captive by the Turk Zelín. To the latter, who has for three years been searching sea and land for the lost Solimán (during his life-time commander of the Ottoman squadrons), Enrique represents a gift from Heaven in that he is the exact counterpart of the lost leader. As he has been promised death by the Sultan Amurates in case he should return without Solimán, Zelín demands that his captive impersonate the missing chieftain but stipulates that he shall not accept the favors of Luna, daughter of the Sultan, to whom Solimán had been betrothed. The plan is successful, and when Amurates dies, he names Enrique successor with the proviso, however, that he shall marry Luna. In the last half of the play, the lot of the royal prisoner is made difficult, not only by the jealousy of Zelín but also by the presence at court of Flora, his father Feliciano, and his brother Ricardo, who have likewise been made captives while searching for Enrique. Eventually, the protagonist

[107] Cf. I, 5 (*La misma conciencia*) with I, 1 (*Despertar a quien duerme*); I, 6 and 7 with I, 3; I, 8 with I, 4 and 9; I, 9 with I, 6; I, 17 with I, 11; I, 18 with I, 16; I, 19 with I, 13; and II, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 with respectively II, 13, 17, 18, 20, 22.

[108] For bibliographical facts concerning the three dramas, as well as for the data which leads me to such conclusions, see pp. 125–126 of this study.

confesses to Luna that he is a Christian and that he is pledged to Flora. Refusing to deny either his love or his religion, he, together with his brother and father, suffer impalement. Flora dies of a broken heart.

The first act of Lope's very disjointed play, *Los mártires de Madrid*, is concerned with the love affair of Ricardo and Flora and with the flight of the hero and his father, Feliciano, as a result of a quarrel with the miserly Camilo. The second portrays the life of Ricardo as a soldier. In Act III, he is a captive in the Turkish court and is loved by the Sultana. Here he and his father meet Flora, who has followed her lover and has likewise suffered captivity. Here too, Ricardo meets Numen and recognizes in him a long-lost brother. The story of the latter's impersonation of the monarch's nephew follows. Ricardo refuses the Sultana's love, Numen confesses his imposture, and the three men are impaled.

In *Dejar un reino por otro*, the life stories of Lope's Ricardo and Numen have been combined in that of Enrique, and the rather useless rôle of Ricardo, brother to the protagonist, created. The first two acts of Lope's play have been reduced to exposition in *Dejar un reino por otro*, and virtually all of the story of the latter (which is but a dramatization of the long story of Numen told in the third act) takes place in the court of the Turks. The dramatic action is thus greatly concentrated.

If we were to summarize *No hay reino como el de Dios*, we should find it almost identical with that of *Dejar un reino por otro*. The few changes that have been made are, as we shall see, entirely characteristic of Moreto. The dramatically useless rôles of Feliciano and Ricardo have been eliminated, thus centering attention on the love triangle. Zelín has been turned into the sentimental Moor type, the perfect courtier and the loyal friend. The sweetheart, Flora, has become the faithful wife, Leonor. The rôle of the *gracioso*, which is in *Dejar un reino por otro* detached from the stories of the chief characters, has been firmly knit with the main plot in *No hay reino como el de Dios*. There are other changes, particularly in the order of events and in the names of the characters, but they are, for our purpose, unimportant. I have noted no verbal parallels.

As for the versification, the *romances* have increased from 59% to 70%; the *redondillas*, decreased from 19% to 17%; the 300 lines of *décimas*, lessened to 30. There is nothing in the versification to indicate that the period which separated the two plays *Dejar un reino por otro* and *No hay reino como el de Dios* was a long one. Both were probably written between 1640 and 1665.

No puede ser
and
El mayor imposible (Lope)

No puede ser is, as Fernández-Guerra has pointed out (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxviii), a revision of Lope's *El mayor imposible*.[109] The two plays are iden-

[109] Mentioned in the second *Peregrino* and published in the *Parte XXV* of Lope, 1647. It was written in 1615. See Rennert and Castro, *Vida de Lope*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 227, 495. It may be read in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. XXXIV.

tical in thesis, though Moreto has refurbished Lope's phrase, "el mayor imposible es guardar una mujer," as "no puede ser guardar una mujer." It was not a new idea, however, for we find incorporated in the comedy of the earlier dramatist (II, 22, p. 478) a ballad of similar idea which must have been hoary even in Lope's day:

Madre, la mi madre
guardas me ponéis;
que si yo no me guardo,
mal me guardaréis.

In both plays there is a corollary to the idea: not only is it as impossible to guard a woman as to "grasp a handful of sand," but the very attempt carries with it grave dangers, since "suspicions will bring certainties."

To prove this thesis, each playwright has presented what is virtually a play within a play. The question arises in the Academy—in Lope's comedy it is that of the queen of Naples, and in Moreto's that of a certain Doña Ana of Madrid—as to whether it is possible to guard a woman against her will. In *No puede ser*, Don Pedro, brother to the lovely Inés, is so rash as to maintain the affirmative and to wager the protagonist, Don Felix, who has sustained the contrary, that he can defend his sister against the world. With the aid of Doña Ana and his own servant, Tarugo, the hero, Don Felix, proves his point, but in the meantime he falls sincerely in love with the heroine, and the play ends with wedding bells.

A general outline of *El mayor imposible* would differ from the one just given only in the names of the characters. Moreover, there are twelve scenes in Moreto's *comedia* which have virtual equivalents in Lope's.[110] The revision, nevertheless, shows appreciable changes, the most important being in the development of the surrounding action. In Lope's work the resolution of the theme is in the nature of an entertainment to the queen which will allow her to forget her illness while she waits the arrival of her betrothed, the king of Aragón. As such, the preliminary scenes are really a prologue. In Moreto's comedy, on the other hand, the surrounding action has been closely linked with that of the inner play. Doña Ana would like to correct Don Pedro's extreme jealousy—has in fact postponed her marriage to him until he should learn to be more discrete in this respect. Moreto's change is effective, then, for it brings plot and subplot more closely together, makes the character of Doña Ana more attractive, and eliminates the figure of the king of Aragón and his retinue.

Other changes that Moreto has made are in the interest of the comic. He has eliminated Albano, a friend of the protagonist, and has replaced him with the amusingly stupid Sancho. In lieu of Lope's *gracioso*, who frightens the queen out of her fevers and thereby wins the reward offered for her cure, he has created Tarugo in the rôle of an eccentric *indiano*. In this disguise the clever servant is able to gain admission to the heroine's house, later to admit his master to her garden, and still later to effect the

[110] Cf. *No puede ser*, I, 2 with *El mayor imposible*, I, 2; also I, 7, 8, 9, 10, with I, 7, 8, 9, 10; II, 15 and 17 with II, 23; III, 1, 2 and 3 with III, 1; III, 18 with III, 19; III, 19 with III, 20.

escape of the lovers. The superstructure he rears has the advantage of being more closely connected with the main plot than was Lope's, but it is so elaborate as to violate verisimilitude and, in a measure, to rob the theme of its deep social significance. It is all most amusing, however, and if the play is regarded as sheer farce, the changes Moreto has made leave little to be desired.

In his characterization, Moreto displays better taste than Lope. Lisardo, the protagonist of *El mayor imposible*, is a trifler and a philanderer. Don Felix is, as we should expect, a knight without reproach. The issue is hardly defined when he confesses to Doña Ana that he is genuinely in love with the heroine, Inés. The latter is a bit more retiring, a bit less capable than her counterpart in *El mayor imposible*. The queen of Lope's play is a petulant young ruler who must be amused; Doña Ana, a self-satisfied young woman who spares her fiancé's feelings nothing in the interest of truth. Don Pedro has suffered in several respects at Moreto's hands: he is much more stubborn, much less likeable, and much less intelligent than his prototype in Lope's comedy. Tarugo, finally, plays a more important part than Ramón: he realizes his intelligence and is aware that he is the clever stage director of the whole play. Unlike Ramón, his counterpart, he cares nothing for gold: he asks instead power over the other characters.

The dialogue of Moreto is good: there are few scenes in the drama of the Golden Age which sound more natural to me than the heated argument (I, 2) between Doña Ana and Don Pedro. It is a dialogue, moreover, which is reasonably independent of its source, though in a few places, Moreto has paraphrased passages from Lope.[111] I have noted, moreover, two lines which Moreto has borrowed verbatim: (1) "La mujer que sabe menos" (*No puede ser*, I, 2, p. 190 and *El mayor imposible*, I, 2, p. 467); "¿Sois justicia? Ni aun piedad." (*No puede ser*, III, 19, p. 207 and *El mayor imposible*, III, 20, p. 483).

El Parecido, El Parecido en la corte and *El castigo del penseque* (Tirso)

It is ordinarily assumed that *El Parecido en la corte* is a revision of *El Parecido*, also attributed to Moreto.[112] Of the first mentioned, there are five manuscripts, all of which, however, bear the shorter form of the title. One of these, to all appearances an autograph, carries the date of January 13, 1652.[113] There is of this version a *suelta* of Juan Sanz which is of the late

[111] Compare the paraphrases *No puede ser*, I, 2, 5 with *El mayor imposible* I, 2, 5; I, 8 with I, 8.

[112] Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, pp. x and xxxix) as well as Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 34) and Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 165) take it for granted that *El Parecido* is the primitive version, and while a comparison of the two texts leads me to believe that the chronology they have given is correct, I do not consider the conclusion inevitable.

[113] See La Barrera, *Cat.*, p. 276 and Fernández-Guerra, *Op. cit.*, pp. x and xxxix.

seventeenth century, though the comedy apparently did not appear in a dated edition until 1741.[114] As to when *El Parecido* was conceived, we know only that it was first published in 1665 in the *Parte XXIII* of the *Escogidas* (José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid). Since it is a reworking of Tirso's *El castigo del penseque*, it was perhaps written after the death of this author in 1648.

If we accept the chronology which is ordinarily assumed for the two plays, we find that they offer in a measure opportunity to study the conscious development of Moreto's dramatic art. The plot of either version may be briefly summarized as follows: Don Fernando and his servant Tacón, have but lately arrived in Madrid from Seville, the former in search of his sister Ana and her lover. At the church door they meet Doña Inés, daughter of Don Pedro de Luján, and Fernando falls desperately in love with her. While trying to formulate some plan by which he may further his love, he is accosted by Don Diego as Don Lope de Luján (a brother to Doña Inés who has been in the Indies for fourteen years) and taken to the house of Don Pedro. He first protests, then accepts his mistaken identity, and in order to cover all verbal slips and at the same time woo Doña Inés under the very eyes of her father and her fiancé, Don Diego, he feigns strange lapses of memory. The complications that arise when the real son appears are solved by a double marriage, for, as chance would have it, Doña Ana's lover is none other than Don Lope.

The changes which Moreto has made in reworking the first half of *El Parecido* are few but characteristic. His effort to inject the didactic is made evident in the long and undramatic monologue which he has inserted in the first scene of Act I so that Don Fernando may lament his own wasted opportunities and at the same time assume partial blame for his sister's conduct; his desire to avoid the risqué, in the more sedate conduct of his heroine. In the one case she gives her newly-found suitor a tryst; in the other she refuses (Cf. *El Parecido en la corte*, I, 4, p. 314 with *El Parecido*, I, p. 6). As pointing in the same direction, one may note the excision of a very plain-spoken bit of dialogue to be found in the earlier version ("Dime tú en que ha de parar...," II, p. 13) and in the conversion of the bedroom scene (I, pp. 10–12) into a garden scene.

The changes made in revising the latter half of Act II are in the interest of plot-structure. They were clearly designed to concentrate dramatic effect, particularly in the development of the secondary plot of Doña Ana and Don Lope. Moreover, in postponing the meeting between Don Lope and his father until the last scene of the second act, he has secured climax within the act itself and has at the same time set the machinery in motion which is to bring the comedy to a natural conclusion.

The variations which Moreto has made in reworking the third act of *El Parecido* are not characteristic. One expects simplification of plot, not elaboration. Yet here there is a distinctly conscious attempt to imitate the highly involved intrigues of the Calderonian comedy. The introduction of a new character in the revision (with the extra shifts of scene occasioned

[114] Num. 16, Antonio Sanz, Madrid, 1741. See Cotarelo, *Bibl.*, p. 34.

thereby) seems to serve no purpose other than to afford a point of contact between Don Lope and Don Fernando.

The dialogue of *El parecido en la corte* is simpler, more direct than that of its source. In the primitive version Don Fernando accosts Doña Inés (I, p. 6) in such highflown language as this:

> Si permitís que un rendido,
> que lo está después de veros,
> os acompañe, será
> dichoso para ofreceros
> este corazón en alas
> de vuestro divino incendio
> como a bien que solicito.

In the revision, one is spared such bombast.

In versification, one may note that *El Parecido* (the longest of Moreto's well-attested plays) has been cut from 3246 lines to 2912; that the number of *romance* lines has been decreased, the *silvas* increased; that the double *laisses* of *romances* (I, p. 9) have been consciously broken up by the addition of a scene in *silvas*.

* * *

Many years ago Fernández-Guerra pointed out that *El Parecido en la corte* "owes something" to Tirso's *El castigo del penseque*.[115] The indebtedness is chiefly one of initial situation. In the play of Tirso, the penniless Don Rodrigo, accompanied by his servant Chinchilla, has just arrived in Flanders. Here he is accosted by a certain Roberto who addresses him as the son of his friend Liberio. In spite of Rodrigo's feeble protests, he is taken to the house of Liberio, is accepted by him as a son, and falls in love with Clarela, his daughter. Eventually he marries her, but only because a certain haughty duchess has withdrawn her favors.

The situation, then, as well as the grouping of characters who make up the action, show much in common. The emphasis has been shifted in that Moreto has eliminated the character of the duchess and transformed the mercenary protagonist into a paragon of romantic virtues, one who is, in every way, an antithesis to the contemptible Rodrigo. The other characters have as little in common as Fernando and Rodrigo, if we except Chinchilla who shares Tacón's interest in food and who, like Moreto's *gracioso*, takes the responsibility of persuading his master to accept the rôle of son and of advising him as to how he can carry it out. Of the loss of memory, however, which plays such a part in our dramatist's comedy and of the many delightful hairbreadth escapes which it makes possible, there is no hint.

The dialogue of Moreto is reminiscent of Tirso's in one scene only. Compare Liberio's orders to his daughter, "Clarela, abraza a tu hermano," etc. (*El castigo del penseque*, I, 4, p. 71) with Don Pedro's to Inés, "Inés, abraza a tu hermano" etc. (*El Parecido en la corte*, I, 10, p. 316). From Chincilla's brief anecdote concerning the merchant and his hundred

[115] *Op. cit.*, p. xxxix. Tirso's play was printed in the *Primera parte* of *Doce comedias nuevas del maestro Tirso de Molina*, Madrid, 1627. See La Barrera, *Cat.*, p. 387.

"escudos," (*El castigo del penseque*, I, 10, 75), Moreto has evolved the first scene of Act III.

* * *

Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxix) mentions the fact that analogies have been pointed out between *El Parecido en la corte* and *La entretenida* (Cervantes), *Quién engaña más a quién* (Alarcón?), and the *Menaechmi* (Plautus).[116] While it is certainly not improbable that Moreto knew *The Menaechmi*, or even the other plays, I can see no evidence of influence. Undoubtedly they all belong to the same school: all are comedies of intrigue wherein the protagonist borrows the identity of another in order to obtain some desired end. In the case of *The Menaechmi*, as with *El Parecido en la corte*, the impersonation is made possible by the fact that the protagonist closely resembles the man whom he impersonates, but this same statement could be made for Tirso's *La ventura con el nombre* or Lope de Vega's *Los mártires de Madrid* or Moreto's **No hay reino como el de Dios*. One may also point out that however much Plautus' character may protest against the identity that is forced upon him, people refuse to believe him even as they do Don Fernando and that eventually the protagonist of each play accepts the rôle.

As for *Quién engaña más a quién*, the protagonist assumes, as in *El Parecido en la corte*, the rôle of the brother who has been in America for many years in order to obtain admission into the house of his sweetheart. The plan is upset, however, not by the arrival of the real brother but by the machinations of a certain Enrique who learns the lovers' secret, sends his rival to an insane asylum, and usurps for himself the rôle of brother. The similarity does not extend to the characters. There is, so far as I can see, no reason to suppose that Moreto was acquainted with the play.

**El príncipe perseguido*
and
El gran duque de Moscovia y emperador perseguido (Lope)

El príncipe perseguido,[117] written by Belmonte Bermúdez, Moreto, and Martínez de Meneses according to an autograph manuscript which carries the censor's stamp of Dec. 1650, is drawn from Lope's *El gran duque de Moscovia y emperador perseguido*.[118]

[116] *La entretenida*, first printed in 1615 in *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses;* ed. Schevill y Bonilla, Madrid, 1915, Vol. VII.

Quién engaña más a quién was printed as the work of Alarcón in the *Escogidas*, José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1679, Tomo variante (See La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 702). Hartzenbusch (*B.A.E.*, Vol. IV, p. 520) doubts that the work is wholly Alarcón's. Certainly it is not entirely characteristic of him. The play may be read in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. IV.

[117] See pp. 138–139 of this study for bibliographical details and for a discussion concerning the collaborators' division of labor.

[118] Of date 1603? . . . 13? according to Buchanan's *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays*. Printed in *Parte VII* of Lope's plays, Madrid, 1617. The play may be

The plot of the collaborators is as follows: Juan Basilio, emperor of Russia, is dying, and in view of the intellectual incapacity of his first born (likewise named Juan Basilio), he designates his ten-year old grandson, Demetrio, as successor and his cousin, Jacobo, as regent. After the death of the emperor, the ambitious Jacobo attempts to kill his nephew and to take possession of the throne. Through the loyalty of his master, Felipo, the young prince escapes, but when after some ten years his hiding place is discovered, he takes refuge first in a convent and then in Poland. Ultimately, with the aid of the king of this country, he is able to throw off his disguise, to overcome the usurper, and to marry the fair Margarita to whom he was pledged in childhood.

In rekneading Lope's formless mass, Moreto and his collaborators have seen fit to work out six subplots and the nineteen hazy characters involved: (1) the accidental death of Juan Basilio, heir to the throne, at the hands of his irascible father, likewise named Juan Basilio; (2) the love of Rodolfo, first courtier of the usurper, for Isabella, childless wife to the young Juan; (3) the heroic loyalty of Lamberto (the Felipo of Moreto) in sacrificing his son's life in order thereby to save his sovereign; (4) the rivalry of the Duque de Arníes for Margarita's hand; (5) Finea's betrayal to Demetrio of the plans to kill him; (6) Demetrio's life with the reapers, Belardo, Febo, and Lucinda. He has, moreover, in shortening the time of action and in beginning his story after the death of Juan Basilio, made still another gain in unity of action. One might point out also in connection with the changes he has wrought in plot that Felipo, the tutor, does not die at the beginning of the second act in Moreto's play as does Lamberto in *El gran duque de Moscovia*, and can accordingly identify Demetrio to the king. Furthermore, Demetrio, instead of becoming cook in the house of the Palatine count, as happens in Lope's play, is in Moreto's, gardener to the king mentioned. It is a rôle which detracts less from the dignity of the hero and which at the same time gives a more natural setting to his conversations with the princess Margarita.

Of the changes made in characterization, that effected in Juan Basilio is the most interesting. The insanity of Lope's character, so violent that he kills his own son, is due to an herb (compare with the Licentiate of Glass) whereas the madness of Moreto's figure consists largely in his complete disregard of the niceties of the court and in the enigmatic aphorisms he hurls at those who would mock him. However, in the crucible of misfortune, his intelligence is awakened, or, as the young rebel of today might express it, "age and suffering press him into the conformist's path." The other characters of Moreto and his collaborators (with the exception of Rodolfo) stand out more clearly than Lope's, but they occasion little interest. Demetrio, in the first act, is another one of those precocious children that talk and act like courtiers in their thirties. We are quite in sympathy with his father when he tells him (I, p. 4), "Muy bachillerico sois." In the last act, he is without that generosity toward his enemies that re-

read in the Royal Academy Edition, Vol. VI. The indebtedness of *El príncipe perseguido* to Lope's play is there pointed out, p. cxxxiii.

deems the earlier playwright's protagonist. Felipo's rôle, if longer than that of Lamberto, is nevertheless not so distinctive. This change offers interest, however, in that the stress on the monarchical ideal of which Lope's character was a symbol, is thus deliberately omitted. And finally, Pepino, servant to Demetrio, is the stereotyped "gracioso," hungry, cowardly, talkative, whereas his counterpart, Rufino, is soldier and friend to the protagonist.

On the whole, the borrowing is one of plot and of layout of characters. However, there is one fragment of dialogue in each act which has been appropriated virtually *in toto*. Compare:

(a) the passage of Moreto (Act I, p. 3) which begins "Qué caballo sacarán?" with that of Lope (Act I, p. 603), "Qué caballo han de sacar?"

(b) the passage of Moreto (Act II, p. 20) which starts "Pues desnúdate y colguemos..." with that of Lope (Act II, p. 620), "Desnuda pronto y colguemos."

(c) the passage of Moreto (Act III, p. 32) starting, "Gran Duque, dadme los brazos..." with that of Lope (III, p. 641), "Dame, Demetrio, esos brazos."

†**El príncipe prodigioso*
and
Príncipe prodigioso transilvano (Lope)

In cutting Lope's *Príncipe prodigioso transilvano*[119] from some 4000 lines to 2888, Moreto and Matos have in *El príncipe prodigioso*[120] taken a formless chronicle play, which is at times Senecan in its brutality, and transformed it into a more unified, if totally insipid, comedy. In it, Segismundo, "defender of the faith," contends with Mahometo, last of the Ottomans, not only for the hand of the fair Arminda, but also for the independence of Transylvania and its religion. The heroine, a captive in the court of the Turks who has been stolen in childhood from her father, the king of Austria, is mysteriously drawn to this Christian suitor who has been appointed by Heaven to break the Ottoman power and who, in order to carry out his mission, must wage war not only with the enemy but also with the treachery of his own nobles.

In order to attain some semblance of regularity in plot, the authors have had to make radical changes, among other things: (1) eliminate a veritable host of characters who throng the stage of Lope; (2) increase the comic element and the love interest, motives which in the original were almost completely lacking; (3) excise several subplots as well as a plethora of

[119] The play was long attributed to Vélez de Guevara, but it is now included in the theatre of Lope. (See *Obras de Lope de Vega*, publicadas por la Real Academia Española, nueva edición, I, Madrid, 1916.) In the introduction to this volume (p. ix), one may read the facts that have led the critics to make the transfer. The excessive length, the blood-bespattered stage, and the utter formlessness of the play are to me reminiscent of Guevara's theatre rather than of Lope's.

[120] See pp. 139–140 of this study for a discussion concerning the authorship of this play and for various bibliographical details.

disconnected episodes which are all intended to glorify the hero. Indeed, the changes in the part which Moreto is supposed to have written are so great that his half seldom touches the original. Matos' debt is much greater, though he has rarely borrowed the dialogue.

Moreto's hero and his opponent have been dwarfed to the proportions of the drawing room. Segismundo is, according to the title, a "prodigious prince and defender of the faith," but the reader feels little, if any, of that force which is the heritage of the leader of men or of that blind fanatical strength which actuates the religious zealot.

San Franco de Sena
and
El condenado por desconfiado (Tirso), *La mal casada* (Lope), etc.

The "reminiscences" of Tirso's *El condenado por desconfiado*[121] which Señores Hurtado de la Serna and González Palencia (*Hist. de la lit. esp.*, p. 732) find in Moreto's *San Franco de Sena*[121] had been more specifically pointed out by Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, pp. 183–184). The analogy is largely one of character. San Franco, like Enrico, is a blasphemous young gambler who prides himself on his evil life but who, like him, has as a redeeming virtue, a deep-rooted love for his helpless old father. In both plays the father has been reduced to dire poverty by the excesses of his spendthrift son, and in both the protagonist returns at the peril of his own life to rescue the long-suffering parent, who is being unjustly persecuted by the law.

One might point out further that the theme of repentance is common to both. In Tirso's play, the Little Shepherd tells Paulo (*El condenado*, II, 10, p. 193):

> No desconfíe ninguno,
> aunque grande pecador,
> de aquella misericordia
> de que más se precia Dios.

Compare with this the Guardian Angel's warning to the audience in Moreto's play (III, 1, p. 135):

> Pecadores, vivid con esperanza;
> No desconfíe vuestro error, mortales;
> Por sus cumbres buscad la penitencia.

Were it not for the scene wherein San Franco rescues his father, I should deny the influence of *El condenado por desconfiado*, since the other similarities of character or theme that have been mentioned could be explained by the life of San Franco. This was one of the scenes, however, which led Schaeffer to declare (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 183) that Moreto's brain was

[121] Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 184) makes mention of an *El lego del Carmen*, which is attributed to Lope de Vega in Vicente Sánchez' *Lira poética*, Zaragoza, 1688. Rennert (*Spanish Stage*, p. 196) notes that Gaspar de Porres played *El lego del Carmen* in 1605 in Barco de Avila. It is not improbable that the two plays are the same and that this is the real source of Moreto's comedy.

Easily accessible in *B.A.E.*, Vol. V. Printed in *Segunda parte de las comedias del maestro Tirso de Molina*, Imprenta del Reino, 1635.

a storehouse for poetic details which he had gathered from here, there, and yonder.

On the other hand, the relationship which the German critic would point out (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 183) between *San Franco de Sena* and Lope's *La mal casada*[122] is not so clear to me: "Moreto's Lucrecia soll sich mit einem krüppelhaften Mailänder, Namens Fabricio, vermählen. Alles dies stimmt bis auf die Namen, den Habitus und das Vaterland der Personen mit einer Episode in Lope de Vega's *La mal casada*." It is true that the heroine of each play is named Lucrecia; that each is being forced to marry against her will a rich suitor from Milan who is named Fabricio. The situation is such a commonplace one, however, and the development of character and plot so entirely different that I am not convinced that Moreto was necessarily acquainted with Lope's play.

San Franco de Sena is, in my opinion, much closer to Moreto's *Caer para levantar* (and therefore, indirectly, to Mira de Amescua's *El esclavo del demonio*)[123] than to either of the plays pointed out by Schaeffer. The general situation found in each of Moreto's comedies is this: the heroine is a rebel against authority who asks her lover to rescue her from the odious marriage which awaits her. She flees, however, not with the man whom she loves but with another who under cover of night has usurped his place. Having taken this false step, she decides that she cannot turn back and accordingly becomes an outlaw with her fellow in crime. Eventually, the two sinners repent of their life of outlawry and, having made all atonement possible for their sins, are saved to celestial glory. The theme, therefore, of repentance is common to both. It may also be noted that two scenes of San Franco de Sena are reminiscent of those in *Caer para levantar:* that of the cave[124] where the old lovers meet and that of the close of each drama wherein the repentant heroine dies on the cross sustained by two angels who sing the *Te Deum*. Finally, it may be mentioned that the *graciosos* of both plays labor under the amusing misapprehension that they can work miracles.

**Travesuras son valor*
and
‡*Travesuras son valor* (?)

The changes which have been made in reworking the primitive version of *Travesuras son valor*[125] are for the most part in accord with Moreto's usual methods. Except for the dénouement, the plots are, in broad outline, the same. The protagonist, "Sancho the Bad" (called thus in order to

[122] See *B.A.E.*, Vol. XXXIV. This play, which was mentioned in the second *Peregrino*, was first published in the *Parte XV* of Lope's works, Fernando Correa, Madrid, 1621.

[123] See pp. 154–156 of this study for the relation of *Caer para levantar* to Mira de Amescua's play.

[124] *Caer para levantar*, III, 9, p. 597; *San Franco de Sena*, III, 10, p. 140.

[125] See pp. 141–142 of this study for bibliographical data as well as for the reasons for thinking that only the revised version should be linked with Moreto's name.

distinguish him from his father, "Sancho the Good," who has won fame as a veteran soldier of the Duke of Alba) carries off his sweetheart, Elvira, from the wedding that was being forced on her by an avaricious father and thereby falls into disfavor with the stern general. He succeeds in recovering the latter's esteem by an unusual deed of valor but only to lose it straightway, for, after having pledged his word not to draw sword except against the enemy, he kills a certain Captain Brondux who has given him the lie. With the aid of his father, he escapes justice, but on hearing of the older Sancho's imprisonment, he returns to confront his enemies. He is made prisoner, and in the first version his execution is related to the audience in all its gruesome details. In the revision, the good news of the birth of a Spanish prince puts the duke of Alba in such a happy frame of mind that he pardons young Sancho and even acts as god-father at his wedding with Elvira.

While the rejection of the tragic end is quite in accord with Moreto's practice,[126] one does not expect a *deus ex machina* conclusion nor an elimination of the early version's obvious thesis of spare the rod and spoil the child. If the young Sancho has to yield his head to the executioner, it is the fault of the father who has applauded his "mischief" (*travesuras*) and of the two women who are rivals for his affection: so the duke of Alba sternly points out, in the earlier version, to the unhappy old man and to any remiss fathers who may be in the audience. In the revised work, the kind-hearted author uses the unhappy father as a mouthpiece who pleads for tolerance for the sins of his scapegrace son by recalling to the duke their own youthful escapades.

In technique there is evidence of the same methodical procedure that may be noted in most of Moreto's plays. In transferring all of the action to Flanders—Elvira is, in the later play, the daughter of a Spanish officer of the duke of Alba—our author eliminated the shift of scene necessitated in the original and, in so doing, shortened the time. The earlier comedy is episodic in action, inconsistent in motivation; the later one shows that straightforward orderly march of events that is one of the most distinctive qualities of Moreto's theatre. At the same time, there is undoubtedly a loss of the crude force which one feels in some of the scenes of the earlier play.

The vital changes made in thesis and dénouement necessarily involved important changes of character. In Moreto's play, the duke of Alba is a rather kind old fellow who is secretly in sympathy with Sancho's punctilious ideas on honor. Stern only because the responsibility of his official position demands it, he is almost as happy as the doting father when he finds an excuse to pardon the valiant young soldier. The other characters are likewise more sympathetic if less virile than those of the primitive version. The swashbuckler of the earlier play, a character who recalls the reckless young student Pantoja,[127] has in the later comedy become an impulsive

[126] See p. 113 of this study. Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, pp. 163–165) was quite indignant over this substitution, as he well had a right to be.

[127] See Moreto's *Las travesuras de Pantoja.*

young daredevil; like all of Moreto's heroes, but unlike the protagonist of the earlier version, he is faithful to his lady. The women of the revised work are, as we should expect, more decorous than their prototypes, especially in their relationship toward each other. It is an interesting commentary on Moreto's patriotism that it is the Flemish lady, not the Spanish one, who has been idealized. And finally, the part of the *graciosos* has increased in importance and propriety.

In versification and dialogue, Moreto's debt is a small one, if we except the last few pages of Act II. Here the author has helped himself most generously: the metre is the same and many lines (130 lines out of a possible 400) are virtually identical. It is the portion of the play where we should have least expected direct borrowing, for it is in these pages that young Sancho strangles his rival, Captain Brondux, before the eyes of the audience. Inasmuch as the instances in Moreto's secular theatre where a character meets a violent death on the stage are rare, if they exist at all, the retention of this repulsive scene suggests a collaborating hand.

El valiente justiciero
and
El rey Don Pedro en Madrid (Lope)

Moreto's *El valiente justiciero* is, according to the temper of the critic, a "slavish imitation" or an "admirable adaptation"[128] of Lope's *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid y el infanzón de Illescas*.[129]

The story, as Moreto tells it, is that of Don Pedro the Just in conflict with one of his arrogant feudal lords, Don Tello of Alcalá. The latter, having won the favors of Doña Leonor under pledge of marriage, not only refuses to carry out his promise to her but as liege lord of a certain Don Rodrigo even dares to rob him of his bride, Doña María. The encounter of Don Tello with his king, his complete defeat at the hands of the latter, and the resolution of the two love tangles through intervention of the monarch —these form the chief interests of *El valiente justiciero*.

With a few changes in names the same outline will serve for Lope's play. Indeed, this is one of the few *comedias* of the author in which whole scenes have been appropriated and in which at times even the versification of the original[130] has been retained. In the third act, at least twelve out of the eighteen scenes of Moreto are in content virtually identical with those of Lope; and of these twelve, no less than seven derive a large num-

[128] Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, pp. 180–181) employs the phrase "knechtisch nachgeahmt" and "umbarmherzig geplündert"; Fernández-Guerra's (*Op. cit.*, p. xliv) estimate includes such terms as "admirable refundición," "arreglo excelente," etc. The relationship of the two plays had previously been pointed out by Ticknor, *Hist. of Sp. Lit.*, Vol. II, N. Y., Harper and Bros., 1854, p. 406.

[129] First printed in a copy of the *Parte XVII*, 1621. It has been attributed to Tirso, Calderón and Andrés de Claramonte as well as to Lope. For full bibliographical details, see Rennert and Castro's *Vida de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1919, p. 488.

[130] Compare III, 11–13 of Moreto's *comedia* with III, 11–13 of Lope's; III, 8 with III, 8; III, 15 with III, 14.

ber of lines from the original.[131] Act II is, on the other hand, almost completely reworked and offers very few evidences of borrowed dialogue, while Act I sins in the latter respect in one scene only.

To one acquainted with Moreto's usual methods of revision, it is surprising that he has retained two subplots, which, though interrelated, have little connection with the main thread of the story. The one, which is concerned with the enmity between Don Pedro and his brother Don Enrique de Trastamara, has increased in importance until it serves as so much surrounding action for the whole. The second subplot is concerned with the prophecy of the shadow that Don Pedro will die at his brother's hands and will "become a statue in Madrid"[132]—this in punishment for having killed a priest within the sanctuary of the church. The element of the supernatural in the revision has decreased in importance: the shadow appears thrice to Lope's protagonist, to Moreto's only once.[133]

Even though Moreto's play, in point of construction, falls short of his best, it is, nevertheless, in this regard superior to its source. In Act I the dramatist has actually staged Don Tello's abduction of Doña María (Lope's Leonor) on her wedding day, and in so doing has given vividness to the subplot without loss of unity. The changes in the second act are even happier. Lope's device for humbling the pride of the haughty nobleman—he moves him from room to room without permitting him to see the king—has certain psychological advantages, but dramatically it is ineffective. The beginning of Lope's third act is likewise weak in that it includes a number of aimless scenes which Moreto has entirely omitted.[134] The last half of this act, like the corresponding portion of the source, errs

[131] In Act III, cf. scenes 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17 of *El valiente justiciero* with their respective originals 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19 in Lope's play. Scene eight has borrowed 14 out of a possible 36 lines; scene nine, 25 out of 76; twelve, 4 out of 13; thirteen, 45 out of 65; fifteen, 11 out of 42; seventeen, 2 out of 36.

In Act II, cf. scene 3 of *El valiente justiciero* with 3 of *El rey Don Pedro* and II, 10 with II, 18.

In Act I, scene eleven has retained 40 out of a possible 135 lines. There are also occasional borrowed verses—in all some 10,—which are scattered throughout the pages of this act.

[132] Reference to the statue of Don Pedro which was placed in the convent of nuns of Santo Domingo.

[133] This is a change which Schaeffer resents very much because he sees in it proof that Moreto failed utterly to comprehend the true spirit of his source. To the German critic, the struggle that takes place between Lope's protagonist and Don Tello is of purely secondary interest. As he sees it, it is the conflict of Don Pedro and a Higher Will which is primary. The Shadow would say to the protagonist "Judge not lest ye be judged," for Don Pedro is a rebel against spiritual authority even as Don Tello is against monarchical rule, and Don Enrique is but the instrument of fate by which the prophecies of the Shadow are to be fulfilled. This is a poetic interpretation which lends both unity and beauty to the drama, but I am inclined to think it is Schaeffer's, not Lope's.

[134] *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid*, III, 3, 4, 5.

in shifting the interest from the main story to the subplot and thus leaving the reader with a sense of the unfinished.

In the matter of characterization, the most important change that has been made in reworking *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid* is the transformation of the peasant girl Elvira into Doña María of the noble house of Guevara. It is a change which has involved others. Busto, the swain of Elvira since childhood days, disappears. As dramatically superfluous, Moreto has likewise omitted Don Fernando, father to Elvira, and the crowd of courtiers with which the display-loving Lope always surrounded his royalty. Finally, it is a change which has necessitated that the dramatist choose somewhat less vivid colors for his palette in characterizing Don Tello. Ruthless, arrogant, and egoistic as he is in Moreto's drama, he has seduced Doña Leonor by false promises, not by brute force. In the end he offers her his hand and, with it, his heart. Don Pedro himself has been painted as slightly less cruel, slightly less zealous of his royal authority, more courteous.[135] The rôle of the *gracioso*, Peregil, contrary to what we should expect, is less pronounced than that of his counterpart in *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid*.

Lope's play is infinitely superior to Moreto's in imagery and poetic fire. One has only to read the magnificent octaves of the earlier drama, verses wherein Don Tello paints for Leonor the panorama of his far flung dominions, and then put by their side the colorless *quintillas* of Moreto[136] to realize just what lyrical wealth was Lope's to command, and just how slender was the vein of Moreto. One can not but regret, too, that the gain in dramatic structure and in realism of dialogue should have been made at the expense of the exquisitely embroidered dialogues of Elvira and Busto.

* * *

Fernández-Guerra (*Op. cit.*, p. xliv) declares with regard to *El valiente justiciero* that "una de sus más brillantes escenas está calcada sobre otra de *Los novios de Hornachuelos*, de Lope." Doubtless, he referred to the scene wherein King Pedro humiliates his rival, first by ignoring him while he reads the petitions before him, then by making him pick up the glove, and ultimately by hitting his haughty head against the wall. As every detail of this episode, except that of the glove, is to be found in the corresponding scene of *El rey Don Pedro*, it seems pointless to search for a more distant analogy.

Certain Plays of Moreto and their Lost Sources

There are various indications that Moreto used as sources for his plays comedies which are now lost to us. We have had occasion to mention *Los jueces de Castilla* and its probable relation to Lope's play of the same name.[137] Moreover, as we have pointed out (See p. 194 of this study), it is

[135] Compare the reception accorded in both plays to the women's request for clemency for Don Tello and Don Rodrigo. See Moreto (III, 2) and Lope (III, 2).

[136] *El rey Don Pedro*, I, 6, p. 595; *El valiente justiciero*, I, 10, p. 335.

[137] See p. 114 *n.* of this study.

not improbable that *San Franco de Sena o El lego del Carmen* was related to a play bearing the second half of the title which was performed by Gaspar de Porres in 1605.

On the strength of internal evidence, Schaeffer (*Op. cit.*, II, pp. 170, 174–175), concludes that there were lost sources for *Primero es la honra*, *Industrias contra finezas*, and *La fuerza de la ley*. In the case of the last, the evidence seems fairly conclusive. The story is that of the stern Seleucus who, finding that his son Demetrius has broken the law against adultery, commands that he suffer the usual penalty of the law, that is the loss of both eyes. In Moreto's play, contrary to the historical version, the punishment is modified to one eye, Seleucus himself giving up the other eye in order to fulfil the letter of the law. Schaeffer points out (*Op. cit.*, II, pp. 174–175) that Lope de Vega's *El marqués de Mantua* contains these lines (I, p. 305):

> Otro por quebrar su ley
> un ojo se sacó a sí
> y otro a su hijo[138]

It seems not unlikely then that Moreto had before him a dramatic model in which the story of history had already been altered. The supposition is strengthened by the fact that this is the only play in the secular theatre of Moreto wherein a woman is unfaithful to her husband, even in her secret thoughts.

Schaeffer's assumption of a dramatic model for *Primero es la honra* rests on his feeling that its plot structure is characteristic of Lope rather than of Moreto. To make specific his assertion, the German critic has drawn a parallel between this *comedia* and Lope's *La ley ejecutada*.[139] There is no question of relationship between the two cited, for Lope's work is a modified version of the Antiochus–Seleucus story[140] whereas *Primero es la honra* is founded upon the Appius Claudius–Virginia story. There is a similarity in the general structure, however. In each case, the desire of the dramatist for a happy ending has lead him in the third act to resurrect the heroine, who has supposedly been executed at the end of the second. In Lope's story, she assumes man's clothing as a disguise; in Moreto's the dress of a peasant girl. Both plays would have gained dramatically had they closed with the second act. The observation of Schaeffer, then, is valid, for our dramatist was certainly not as a rule given to unpremeditated dénouements whereas the reverse is frequently true of Lope de Vega. Moreover, I agree with the critic that the fantastic episodes that make up the third act are characteristic of the earlier writer rather than of Moreto. The explanation of such essential differences in structure could find its

[138] Schaeffer suggests that "quebrar" is a textual error for "guardar."

[139] First printed in the *Parte XXIV* de Lope, Madrid, 1633. It is easily accessible in the *B.A.E.*, Vol. XLI. It is Schaeffer's analogy, no doubt, that leads Señores Hurtado and Palencia to say "Puede compararse con *La ley ejecutada* de Lope," *Op. cit.*, p. 734.

[140] As such, it bears a certain resemblance to *La fuerza de la ley*, though it is doubtful that there is any question of influence.

answer in a lost drama, such as Schaeffer has suggested, or in a collaborating hand. Given the playwright's usual practice, either seems probable.

The critic's reasons for concluding that *Industrias contra finezas* had a dramatic model, probably a comedy of Lope de Vega, do not seem so well founded. His feeling arises from the fact that the involved metaphor of Carlos (III, 10, p. 285) is more characteristic of Lope's period than Moreto's. I quite agree as to the accuracy of the general statement (See, however, p. 55 *n.* of this study), but I do not feel that in itself this detail is sufficient to warrant the assumption of a lost source.

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†*Engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel (Los)*, de Don Agustín Moreto, *B.A.E.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 527–543. There is no early dated edition. The *suelta* of the Viuda Leefdael should be placed about 1730 or later.

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‡*Rosario perseguido (El)*, N. 111, de un ingenio de esta corte, Imprenta de la Viuda de Francisco Leefdael, Sevilla. Burton collection of 2 vol. (G. 3353.3), Boston Public Library. Not mentioned in Cotarelo's *Bibliografía*. There is no dated edition until Antonio Sanz' of 1745, but there is in the Biblioteca Nacional a ms. of the 17th century.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

(1) *Oponerse a las estrellas* was written in or before 1649, for it is listed in the *Décimas de Felipe IV*, which, according to Restori (*Op. cit.*, pp. 30–34), were composed between 1644 and 1649.

(2) *Hacer remedio el dolor* was probably written in or before 1649, since it is mentioned in the *Décimas de Felipe IV*, which Restori (*Op. cit.*, pp. 30–34) places between 1644 and 1649. According to Cotarelo (*Bibl.*, p. 29) the play was first printed in 1659 in the *Parte XI* of the *Escogidas* (Gregorio Rodríguez, Madrid). However, that volume was probably a reprint of one published in Madrid in 1658, inasmuch as there is in the Bodleian library a copy of one of this latter date. (See Münch-Bellinghausen, *Über die älteren Sammlungen spanischer Dramen*, Vienna, 1852, p. 58.) I am unable to tell whether the edition I have used in the Ticknor Collection (Boston) is that of 1658 or 1659, for the original title page is lacking. The volume tallies with Fernández-Guerra's description of the 1659 *Escogidas* (*Op. cit.*, p. l.) except that there is no mention of the year of publication nor of Gregorio Rodríguez. In the book which I have at hand, however, *Hacer remedio el dolor* is attributed to Moreto and Cáncer, not to Moreto, Cáncer, and Matos, as the Spanish critic declares (*Op. cit.*, p. xxxv). A *suelta* of Seville by Don Diego López de Haro prints it as the work of Moreto and Cáncer. Salvá (*Catálogo*, I, p. 607) says: "En una edición moderna que poseo, se dan por autores de esta comedia a Cáncer, Matos y Moreto, y Medel la cita anónima."

Fernández-Guerra is of the opinion that "la tercera jornada es la que parece por su estructura y giros de la pluma de Moreto." I hesitate to venture an opinion as to the division of labor in this comedy. The play is really *El desdén con el desdén* in embryo (See p. 162 of this study), and one acquainted with the latter finds something familiar in each act of *Hacer remedio el dolor*. It is the last half of Act III, however, which is to me least characteristic in dramatic structure and tone. In spirit, this part seems not out of harmony with the burlesque genius of Cáncer, but its lack of *redondillas* is hardly what one would expect. I cannot find Matos' hand in any portion of the comedy.

(3) *Escarramán* was, in 1715, turned into Dutch by the actor, Enoch Krook, who states in his introduction, however, that he used not the comedy in verse which is associated with Moreto's name but a prose translation made by the Portuguese Jew, Athias. He observes in this same introduction that Moreto wrote the comedy to ridicule Gerónimo Cáncer. The title of the Dutch version is *Spiegel der wanschikkelyke tooneelstukken* (*Mirror of Bad Comedies*). (See Van Praag, *La "comedia" espagnole aux pays-bas au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècle*, Amsterdam, no date, pp. 63–64.)

I have at hand only the printed edition of the *Escogidas*. In order to solve the problem of authorship, one must needs study also the manuscript, the translation of Krook, and the prose version of Athias,—if this last is still in existence.

(4) One reads in the *Nuevos datos* of Pérez Pastor (*Bulletin Hispanique*, Vol. XVI, 1914, p. 464) under date of Feb. 26, 1661: "Certificación de que

la compañía de Escamilla ha de hacer a S. M. y está ensayando la comedia de *Finxir y amar* de tres ingenios y que por esta causa no hay función hoy en el Corral de la Cruz." The work has everywhere else been attributed to Moreto alone. I no longer have this play in my possession and so cannot reëxamine it. At the time I read it, I noted nothing inconsistent with Moreto's workmanship.

(5) Stiefel (*Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 360–361) notes that there exists a *suelta* of *La fingida Arcadia* which is attributed to Antonio Coello and concludes that the "Don N. N." to whom it is ordinarily ascribed in collaboration with Calderón and Moreto is none other than he.

(6) Stiefel (*Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, Vol. XV, p. 221) mentions an *El mejor esposo* which is to be found in the library of Munich and which is ascribed to Moreto. *Guillén de Castro* is author of a play by this name.

(7) In the list of Moreto's brothers and sisters given on p. 3 of this study, there is no mention of Julián; yet the dramatist expressly names his brother, Julián Moreto, as one of the executors of his will.

(8) *Vanse y salen Filiberto.* Such stage directions (See p. 48 of this study) are not included in the *B.A.E.* version of *La fingida Arcadia*, but may be found in the edition of Antonio Sanz, Madrid, 1753.

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